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THE ROOT OF THE EVIL.

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I.

AMONG the fields, in a walled enclosure, stands an iron-foundry, with enormous, unceasingly smoking chimneys, clanking chains, blast furnaces, scattered cottages for overseers and workmen, and a railway siding.

In the foundry and its mines workmen labor like ants. Some hew out the ore from morning till night, or from evening till morn, a hundred yards below the ground, in dark, narrow, stifling, damp corridors, which threaten them perpetually with death. Others, bending double in the darkness, draw the clay and ore to the foot of the shaft, run back with the empty trucks, fill them again, and go on working for twelve and fourteen hours daily the whole week through. So they work in the mines. In the foundry itself, some work at the furnaces in stifling heat, others at the outlets for the melted ore and slag; others again—mechanics, stokers, locksmiths, bricklayers, joiners—labor also in the workshops twelve and fourteen hours a day throughout the week.

On Sundays, these men receive their wages, wash themselves (or sometimes do not wash), get drunk in the public houses and

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taverns surrounding the factory and luring them on all sides; and early on Monday morning they all set about the same work again.

Near the foundry, peasants are ploughing other men's fields with lean, exhausted horses. These men rose at dawn—if they did not spend the night awake on the marshes, the only place where they can feed their horses. They rose at dawn, came home*, harnessed the horses, and, taking with them a lump of bread, went off to plough the fields of other men.

Other peasants are squatting on the highway near the foundry, and, having erected a shed for themselves with matting, break stones for the roads. The feet of these men are bruised, their hands are horny, their whole bodies are dirty; and not only their faces, hair and beards, but their lungs also, are penetrated with lime dust. Taking from the heap a large, unbroken stone, and settling it between their feet, which are shod in laptie† and swathed in old rags, they strike it with a heavy hammer till it splits. Then they take the fragments and hammer them till they are fit for road-metal. Then they again take the unbroken stones, and begin again. So they work, from the early summer dawn till night, fifteen or sixteen hours, resting only at midday, and, for breakfast and dinner, refreshing themselves with bread and water.

Thus live all these men—in the mines and foundry, at the plough and breaking stones—from youth till old age. Thus live their wives and mothers, subjected to over-exhaustion and consequent female infirmities; and thus, also, live their old fathers and young children, poorly nourished, badly dressed, in arduous and health-destroying labors, from morning to night and from youth to old age.

And now, past the foundry, past the stonebreakers, past the ploughing peasants, meeting and outstripping ragged men and women who wander with wallets from place to place asking for food "for Christ's sake," drives a carriage with tinkling bells, drawn by four bay horses sixteen hands high, the least valuable of which has cost more than the whole houses and possessions of the peasants who admire the team. In the carriage are seated two

* In Russia, during the summer, the peasants' horses are taken after the day's work to feed in the marshes for the night, their owners resting on the bare ground.

† Laptie is a footgear of soft matting, worn by Russian peasants in summer to save their boots.

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girls, with bright colored sunshades, and ribbons and feathers on their hats, each of which has cost more than the horse with which the peasant ploughs the field. On the front seat is an officer in a newly washed, white linen coat, with braidings, and buttons that sparkle in the sun; on the box sits a stout coachman, with blue silk shirt-sleeves and a velvet overcoat. He nearly runs over the vagrants, and pushes into the ditch a peasant, who, in a dirt-begrimed smock, is jogging past in his empty cart.

"Don't you see that?" shouts the coachman, showing his whip to the peasant, who has not turned aside quickly enough; and the peasant with one hand lugs at the reins, and with the other timorously takes the cap off his dirty head.

Behind the carriage, their nickel-plated machines gleaming in the sun, fly noiselessly two men and a lady on bicycles, laughing merrily; and on they pass, frightening the peasant wayfarers.

By the side of the road are two equestrians; the man on an English stallion, the lady on an ambler. To say nothing of the price of the horses and saddles, the black hat with the lilac veil alone has cost two months' stonebreaker's labor; and for the riding stick, a stylish English one, has been paid a week's wages of an underground workman—of the man, who, trudging along, happy at having been hired at the pit-mouth, stands aside to admire the well-fed figures of horses and riders, and the great fat, outlandish dog, with the expensive collar, trotting behind with his tongue hanging out.

Not far behind this company comes a cart, with a smiling, smart and becurled maid in a white apron, and a stout, ruddy man with carefully combed whiskers, and a cigarette between his lips, whispering something to the girl. In the cart lie a tea urn, an ice mould, and some bundles tied in serviettes. The man and the girl are the servants of the people in the carriage, on horseback and on bicycles. The day has not been an unusual one for them. They live thus all the summer. Almost every day they make excursions; sometimes, as to-day, with tea, ices, and sweet things, to enable them to eat and drink in a new spot each day.

The people in the carriage, on horseback and on bicycles are three families who live in their country houses. One is the family of a land-owner possessing 6,000 acres; another, of an official in the receipt of $15,000 a year; the third, and most wealthy, are the children of the owner of the foundry.

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All these people are not in the least either astonished or stirred to pity by the sight of all the extreme poverty and cruel labor which surround them. They think all this is just as it should be. They are occupied with quite other matters.

"This will never do," says the lady on horseback, looking back at the dog. "I cannot put up with this." She stops the carriage. All speak together in French, laugh, take the dog into the carriage, and drive on, covering the stonebreakers and the other peasants on the road with clouds of lime-dust.

The carriage, the horsemen and the bicyclists have passed, like beings of another world; and the foundry workmen, the stonebreakers and the peasant ploughmen go on with their weary and monotonous toil (for other people), which will end only with their lives.

"That is how some people live!" think they, following the carriage with their eyes. And still more miserable seems to them their miserable existence.

II.

What does it mean? Have these workingmen done anything —something very wicked—to be punished in this way? Or is it the fate of all men? Or have those who passed in carriages and on bicycles done, or are they still doing, something very useful or important, for which they are thus rewarded? Not at all! On the contrary, those who work so strenuously are, for the most part, moral, sober, modest and industrious; the others are, for the most part, depraved, perverted, insolent and idle. All this exists only because such a system of life is considered right and natural by men who affirm of themselves either that they profess Christ's law of love toward their neighbor, or that they are cultured—that is, perfected—human beings.

And the system exists not only in that little corner of the Government of Tula, which I picture clearly to myself because I see it so often, but everywhere—not only in Russia, from St. Petersburg to Batum, but in France, from Paris to Auvergne; in Italy, from Rome to Palermo; in Germany; in Spain; in America; in Australia; even in India and China. Everywhere, two or three men in a thousand live so, that, doing nothing for themselves, they eat and drink in one week what would have fed hundreds for a year; they wear garments costing thousands of dollars; they

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live in palaces, where thousands of workmen could have been housed; and they spend upon their caprices the fruits of thousands and tens of thousands of working days. The others, sleepless and unfed, labor beyond their strength, ruining their physical and moral health for the benefit of these few chosen ones.

For some men, when they are about to be born, a midwife, a doctor (sometimes two) are summoned; a trousseau is prepared, with a hundred little shirts and swaddling clothes with silk ribbons; and spring rocking-cradles are purchased. Others, the enormous majority, are given birth to anywhere and anyhow, without help; they are rolled up in dirty rags, laid on straw in wooden cradles—and the parents are glad when they die. The first are cared for by the midwife, nurse and wet nurse, while the mothers lie in bed for days; the second are not cared for at all, because there is no one to care for them; and the mothers leave their beds directly after child-birth, light the fire, milk the cow, and sometimes wash their own, their husbands', and their children's clothes. Some children grow up among toys, amusements, and study. Others begin by crawling on their naked stomachs across the threshold, are crippled and devoured by swine, and at five years old begin to labor for masters.

Some are taught all the scientific wisdom adapted to children's minds; others are taught the coarsest abuse and the most outrageous superstitions. Some fall in love, have romantic histories, and marry when they have already tasted all the pleasures of love; others are married at sixteen or twenty years of age, as best suits the interests of their parents.

Some eat and drink the very best and most expensive things in the world, feeding their dogs with white bread and meat. Others eat only bread and kvass*, and even that not to their fill; while their food is often stale, to put them off eating much. Some, who do not work, change their fine linen every day; others, working continually at other men's tasks, change their coarse, torn, lousy linen once in two weeks, or else do not change it at all, but wear it till it falls to pieces. Some sleep in clean sheets on feather beds; others on the earth, covering themselves with ragged coats.

Some drive about with strong, well-fed horses, for recreation; others labor miserably with half-starved beasts, and for business walk on foot. Some devise things they may do to occupy their

* A cheap fermented liquor.

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idle time; others have not the time to clean themselves, to wash, to rest, to converse, or to see their families.

Some can read four languages, and daily amuse themselves with the most varied pastimes; others do not even know their letters and have no pleasure but drink. Some know all and believe nothing; others know nothing and believe all the absurdities they are told. Some, when they fall ill, besides all manner of watering places, all possible care, cleanliness, and medicines, go about from place to place seeking for the most healing climate; others lie down on the stove in a chimneyless hut, and with unwashed wounds, without any food except dry bread, or any air besides an atmosphere tainted by the members of the family, by calves and sheep, rot alive and die before their time.

Is this as it should be?

If there exists a Supreme Wisdom and Love guiding the world, if there is a God, He cannot sanction such a division among men: that some should not know what to do with their superfluous wealth, and should squander aimlessly the fruits of other men's toil; and that others should sicken and die prematurely, or live a miserable life of exhausting labor.

If there is a God, this cannot and must not be. If there is no God, then even from the simplest human standpoint, a system by which the majority of men are forced to ruin their lives in order that a small minority may possess superfluous wealth—a wealth which only hinders and perverts them—such a system of life is absurd, because it is detrimental to all men.

III.

Then, why do men live in this way?

One can understand why rich men, who are accustomed to their wealth and do not see clearly that wealth does not give happiness, should try to maintain their position. But why do the enormous majority, in whose hands all power resides, and who believe that happiness is in riches, why do they live in poverty and submit to the minority? Why do all the men, strong in physical vigor, in skill, and in the habit of labor—the enormous majority of humanity—why do they submit to and obey a handful of feeble men, generally incapable of anything, and effeminate—old men, and especially women?

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Go and look at the shops. Look, for instance, at the Moscow arcades before a holiday or at times of cheap sales. Ten or twelve arcades, consisting of uninterrupted rows of splendid shops with enormous panes of thick glass, are filled with various expensive things—for women exclusively; stuffs, dresses, laces, precious stones, boots, ornaments for rooms, furs, etc. All these things cost thousands upon thousands; they were made in factories by workmen who often wasted their lives on the labor of making them; and they are all utterly unnecessary not only for workmen, but even for wealthy men; they are nothing but the toys and ornaments of women. At the doors, on either side, are porters in uniforms, and coachmen in expensive liveries sitting on the boxes of costly carriages harnessed with horses costing thousands of roubles. Again, thousands of working days have been expended on the production of all these luxurious trappings; laborers, old and young, men and women, have spent their whole lives in fashioning all these articles. And all these things are in the power and in the hands of a few hundred women, dressed in expensive furs and hats of the latest fashion, flitting about in the shops, and buying all these wares prepared exclusively for them.

A few hundred women dispose at their caprice of the labor of millions of workingmen, toiling to feed and support themselves and their families. On the caprice of these women depend the life and fate of millions.

How did this happen?

Why do these millions of strong men, who produced all these articles, submit to these women?

A lady in a velvet mantle, and a hat of the very latest style, drives up with a pair of fine horses. Everything she wears is new and most costly. A porter hastens to unfasten the cover of her sleigh, and respectfully holds her elbow while she alights. She walks along the arcade as if it were her kingdom; enters a shop and buys five thousand roubles' worth of stuff for her drawing-room; orders it to be sent as soon as possible, and drives away. This woman is unkind, stupid, and not even pretty; she has never had children, and never in her life has she done anything for others. Then, why do the porters and the coachmen and the shopmen cringe before her so obsequiously? Why has the produce of the labor of thousands of workmen become her property? Because she has money! And the porters, and the coachmen, and

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the shopmen and factory workmen need money to feed their families. And the most easy and sometimes the only way in which they can obtain this money is to work as coachmen, porters, shopmen or factory workmen.

Why has this woman got the money?

She has got it, because men deprived of their land and unaccustomed to any labor except the machine-weaving of stuffs work at her husband's factory; and her husband, giving the workmen only what is indispensable to their subsistence, takes for himself all the profits of the factory—some hundreds of thousands of roubles; and as he has no use for his thousands, he willingly gives them over to his wife to spend on whatever she may desire.

Here is another lady, with yet more luxurious carriage and clothes, buying various expensive and unnecessary things in the shops. How has this woman got her money? She is maintained by a wealthy land-owner, possessor of 50,000 acres granted to his ancestor by a depraved empress as reward for his debauchery with herself. This man owns all the land surrounding the villages of the peasants, to whom he lets the land at a high rent. The peasants pay the money, because without the land they would die of hunger. And this rent is now in the hands of a courtesan, and with it she buys *things* made by the other peasants who have been robbed of their land.

Here is a third rich woman, walking along the arcade with her mother and her *fiancé*. She is going to be married, and is buying bronzes and expensive porcelain. This woman has her money from her father, a high official, receiving twelve thousand yearly from appointments. He has given seven thousand to his daughter as dowry. This money is collected from the peasants in the shape of local and imperial taxes. These taxes have compelled the porter who opens the door (he is a peasant from Kaluga and has left at home a wife and children), and the cabman who drove them (he comes from Tula), and hundreds of thousands and millions of men engaged as servants or workmen, to leave their homes and spend their lives in labor which will be used by women—women, whose money has been collected from factory profits, or from rent, or from taxes, by capitalists, land-owners, and officials.

Thus, millions of workmen submit to these women because one man has usurped the factory, another the land, and a third the

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taxes collected from the workmen. These are the causes of what I saw at the iron-foundry.

The peasants plough the fields of other men, because they have not enough of their own land; and the land-owner allows them to use his land only on condition that they work for him. The stonebreakers break stones because by that labor alone can they pay the taxes required of them. The foundrymen and miners toil as they do because neither the earth, out of which the iron is dug, nor the foundry, in which it is smelted, belongs to them.

All these men spend their lives in exhausting labor (for other men), because the wealthy have possessed themselves of the land, collect taxes, and own the factories.

IV.

Why does the land belong, not to those who work it, but to those who do not work? Why do only a small number of men profit by the taxes collected from all, and not all those who pay the taxes. Why do factories belong, not to those who built them and work in them, but to a small number of men who did not build them and do not work in them?

The usual answer to the question why the non-workers possess the land of the workers, is, that the land has been granted them for their services, or bought with the money they have earned. The usual answer to the question why some men—a small number of non-workers, rulers and their assistants—take to themselves the greater part of the wealth of the working classes and use it according to their caprices, is, that the men who profit by the money collected from the people, govern them and defend them and establish among them order and wellbeing. The usual answer to the question why the non-workers, the wealthy classes, are in possession of the produce and the instruments of labor of the workers, is, that the produce and instruments of labor have been earned by them or by their ancestors.

And all these men—land-owners and government officials, merchants and factory owners—sincerely believe that their possession is perfectly lawful and that they have a right to it. And yet, neither the ownership of land, nor the collecting of taxes and profiting by them, nor the possession of the produce and instruments of labor by non-working men, has the least justification, because land—like water, or air, or the rays of the sun—is an in-

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dispensable condition of every man's life, and therefore it cannot be the exclusive property of one. If land, and not water, air, or sunlight, has become the object of property, it is not because land is not just as indispensable a condition of every man's existence, which cannot therefore be rightly appropriated, but because it is not possible to deprive men of water or the air or the sunlight, whereas it is possible to deprive them of land.

Property in land was established by violence (land was usurped by conquest, and afterwards given away or sold); and in spite of all the attempts to transform it into a right, it still exists only through the violence of the strong and the armed against the feeble and the defenceless.

If only a workingman infringes this imaginary right and begins to plough a field which is considered the property of another man, there appears instantly that on which this imaginary right is based; first, in the form of the police, and afterwards in that of soldiers, who will cut down and shoot those who try to avail themselves of their natural right of drawing their sustenance from the soil. Therefore, what is called the right of landed property is nothing but violence against all who may need that land. Right in land is equivalent to the right which robbers claim in a road they have taken possession of, and along which they allow no one to pass without paying toll.

Still less can the right of governments to enforce taxes find a semblance of justification. It is said that taxes are used for the defence of the State against external enemies, for the establishment and maintenance of internal order, and for the organization of social institutions necessary to all.

But, in the first place, external enemies have long ago ceased to exist, according to the declarations of governments themselves; they all assure their subjects that they desire only peace. The German Emperor desires peace, the French Republic desires peace, England and Russia desire peace, and the Transvaal and China desire it still more. Then, against whom have we to defend ourselves?

In the second place, in order to give money for the establishment of internal order and social institutions, one must be sure that the people who are to establish this order will really do so, and also that the order itself will be a good one, and that the proposed social institutions are indeed necessary for the community.

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If, on the contrary, as has been the case always and everywhere, the payers of taxes do not believe either in the capacity, or even in the honesty of those who maintain the system, and besides consider the system itself evil and the proposed institutions utterly inadequate to the needs of the taxpayers, then it is evident that there can exist no right to levy taxes—but only violence.

I remember the wise words of a Russian peasant, a religious and therefore a truly free-thinking man. Like Thoreau, he thought it wrong to pay taxes for purposes his conscience disapproved of, and, when the tax gatherers required him to pay his share, he asked for what purposes the taxes would be used, saying:

"If they are to be employed for righteous uses, I will immediately give not only what you require, but even much more; but if the taxes are destined for evil purposes, then I cannot and will not give a penny, and I refuse to do so of my own free will."

Of course, none stopped to listen to him; instead, they burst open the doors he had closed, took away his cow and sold it for the taxes. Therefore, in reality, there is only one true and actual reason for taxation, namely, the power that collects them—the possibility of robbing those who pay them voluntarily, and even, in case of refusal, of beating and imprisoning and punishing them, as is done continually.

The fact that, in England, France and America, and in all constitutional States, taxes are determined by parliaments, that is, by assemblies of pretended "representatives of the people," does not affect the question, because elections are so organized that the members of parliaments do not represent the people, being nothing but professional politicians, occupied only with their personal ambitions and the interests of their parties; or, if they are not so at first, they become so as soon as they enter parliament.

The justifications of the so-called proprietary rights of non-workers over the produce of other men's labor are equally devoid of foundation.

The rights of property, which are even termed "the sacred rights," are vindicated by the argument that property is the result of abstinence and of industrious activities useful to mankind. Yet, one has only to examine the origin of all great fortunes to be convinced of the contrary.

Fortunes are acquired always either by violence—the most common way—or by avarice, or by some huge villainy, or by chronic

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swindling, as in the case of trade. The better a man is, the more sure is he of losing his wealth; and the worse a man, the more sure he is of retaining and increasing his fortune. The common-sense of the people says, "By honest labor one cannot acquire stone palaces," and "By labor one becomes, not a rich man, but a cripple." So it was in ancient times, and so it is, even more so, now, when the distribution of riches has been accomplished in the most inequitable manner. Even if one allow that, in a primitive society, a temperate and industrious man will acquire more than one who is intemperate and lazy, that is not the case in our present society. The workman who ploughs another man's land, who buys the indispensable necessaries of life at the prices demanded of him, and who labors with instruments not his own, can never acquire wealth, however temperate and industrious he may be. On the other hand, the most profligate and idle man who creeps into the good graces of the government or of wealthy people, or who becomes a usurer, or a factory owner, or a banker, or a wine merchant, or the owner of a house of debauchery, can easily acquire a fortune, as we see in thousands of cases.

The laws which claim to protect property are laws protecting only property acquired by theft, which is in the hands of the wealthy; they not only do not protect the workman, who has no property except his labor, but they directly contribute to the exploitation of that labor.

We see numberless administrators—the sovereign, his brothers and uncles, ministers, judges and clergy—receiving enormous sums gathered from the people, and not even performing the light duties undertaken in exchange for their remuneration. It appears, then, that they steal these salaries gathered from the people; and yet, for this theft of the people's property, it does not enter the head of any one to condemn them.

If a workman takes a small part of the money received by these men, or some article bought with this money, he is considered to have violated the sacred rights of property, and for the few farthings he has taken he is tried, imprisoned, or exiled.

A millionaire factory owner promises to pay a workman for his labor a sum which amounts to the ten millionth part of that millionaire's fortune, that is, almost nothing; the workman, forced by hunger, promises to yield, for a year, twelve hours of labor every day, excepting holidays, full of danger, and ruinous to his

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health; that is, he promises to surrender to the factory owner the greater part of his life, and sometimes his whole life; and government protects equally the one and the other property.

It is clear that the factory owner, year after year, takes from the workman the greater part of his earnings, which he appropriates to himself. It is obvious, therefore, that the factory owner steals the greater part of the workman's property, and he should accordingly be liable to judgment. But government considers the fortune acquired in this way by the factory owner to be sacred property, and punishes the workman who carries away under his shirt two pounds of brass, representing a millionth part of the factory owner's fortune.

If a workman, as demonstrated in the persecutions of the Jews, tries to deprive the wealthy of a small portion of what has been taken from him by law; if a starving man, as happened recently at Milan, tries to take the bread that the wealthy, profiting by the famine, sell to the poor at exorbitant prices; if the workman tries to get back, by strikes, part of the money that has been stolen from him—he violates the sacred rights of property, and the government with its army immediately comes to the help of land owner and factory owner and merchants, against the workmen. Therefore, the "right" upon which the wealthy have their ownership of land, their appropriation of the fruits of other men's toil, and their exactions of taxes, have nothing in common with justice; and all three are based only on violence maintained by military force.

V.

If a workman wishes to plough a field that he needs for his daily bread, or to elude the payment of direct or indirect taxes, or to reclaim from those who have appropriated it the grain he has himself produced, or to possess himself of the instruments of labor without which he cannot work—immediately appear the troops, and by force prevent him from doing so.

Therefore, taxation, the usurpation of land, and the power of capitalists, do not constitute the fundamental cause of the miserable condition of the working classes, but only a consequence. The essential reason why millions of workingmen live and labor under the orders of the minority, is not that the minority has usurped the land and the instruments of labor and gathers taxes,

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but that it has the power to do so; because there is force, and because there is an army which is in the hands of the minority and is ready to kill those who refuse to obey the will of the minority.

If peasants wish to take possession of land which is considered the property of a non-working man, or if they refuse to pay taxes, or if strikers wish to prevent other men from taking their places, immediately there appear those same peasants, payers of taxes and workmen deprived of their land, only they are arrayed in uniforms and armed with guns, who compel their brethren who are not dressed in uniforms to surrender their land, to pay taxes, and to cease their strikes.

When one realizes this for the first time, one cannot believe it; it seems so strange.

The workmen wish to free themselves, and yet they themselves force each other to submit and to remain in slavery!

Why do they do this?

They do it because all the workmen who are enlisted or hired as soldiers are subjected to a skilful process of stupefaction and degradation, after which they cannot help submitting blindly to their superiors, whatever they may be ordered to do.

This is how it is done. A boy is born in the country or in a town. In all the Continental States, as soon as the boy reaches the age when strength, dexterity and suppleness have attained their maximum, and the spiritual forces are in the most confused and undetermined state (about 20 years of age), he is enlisted as a soldier; he is examined, like a beast of burden, and, if physically strong and in good condition, he is enrolled in some regiment, according to his capacities, and forced to swear solemnly that he will obey his superior like a slave. Then he is separated from all his former surroundings; he is made drunk with gin or beer, clothed in a gaudy dress, shut up in barracks with other lads like himself, where he lives in utter idleness—that is, without doing any useful or reasonable work; he is taught the most absurd military rules and names of things, how to use instruments of murder—swords, bayonets, rifles and cannons; and, chief of all, he is taught not only implicit but even automatic obedience to his superiors. That is how things happen in countries where military conscription exists; where none exists, men specially appointed for the purpose look out everywhere for good-for-nothing loafers, who

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cannot or do not wish to live by honest labour, generally depraved but strong men, whom they make drunk, bribe, enlist, shut up in barracks, and subject to the same discipline.

The chief aim of the authorities is to reduce these men to the state of the frog whose leg jerks irresistibly as soon as touched.

A good soldier is one who automatically answers to certain shouts of his superiors by certain definite movements, like the frog. This is attained by forcing these miserable men, dressed in similar, many-colored garments, to walk, and turn about, and jump, and do everything in concert, by command, to the sound of music and drums, during weeks and months and years.

For acts of disobedience they are punished in the most cruel way, and sometimes even by death. At the same time, drunkenness, depravity, idleness, foul language and murder, instead of being forbidden, are encouraged, and brothels are provided for them. The soldiers are treated to gin, they are taught shameful songs, and trained to murder. (Murder is considered so good and praiseworthy a deed among this class of men that, in certain cases, officers are required to kill their friends—in so-called duels.) And so a gentle and kind-hearted boy, after a year of such training (earlier than that a soldier is not ready—that is, he still retains human qualities), becomes what the authorities wish him to be, a senseless and cruel, powerful and terrible instrument of violence in the hands of his superiors.

Every time I pass the Imperial Palace at Moscow in winter, and see the young sentinel in his heavy fur coat standing by the sentry box, or pacing in his enormous goloshes along the pavement, carrying on his shoulder a rifle of the latest model with a sharpened bayonet, I look him in the eyes, and invariably he turns away from my glance, and every time the thought strikes me: "Only a year or two ago that man was a bright, country lad, ingenuous and kind-hearted, who would have talked to me cheerfully in good Russian, and related to me, with the consciousness of his peasant's self-respect, his whole history. Now he looks at me full of resentment and dejection, and to all questions he can only answer, 'Yes, sir,' or 'I don't know, sir.' If I forcibly entered the door by which he stands—as I always feel inclined to do—or if I caught his rifle with my hand, he would run his bayonet into my stomach without the slightest hesitation, would draw it out of the wound, wipe it, and continue pacing

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along the asphalt in his goloshes, till the corporal came to relieve him, whispering in his ear the password and watchword. And he is not alone," I continue thinking; "in Moscow alone, there are thousands of such boys, almost children, transformed into machines, and armed with rifles. There are millions of them in Russia and all over the world. They have taken these unintelligent, but strong and agile, lads, have bribed and depraved them, and through them rule the world."

This is terrible.

It is terrible that bad and idle people should, with the help of these deceived men, be possessors of all those palaces and that guiltily acquired wealth—that is, of the labor of the whole people.

But most terrible of all it is that, in order to attain these ends, they had to brutalize these simple and kind-hearted lads, and that they have partly succeeded in doing so.

If the possessors of wealth defended their own property, it would not be so infamous; but it is awful that, to enable them to rob and to defend their plunder, they should make use of the very men they have robbed, and in so doing degrade the souls of their victims.

Thus workmen-soldiers use violence against their brother workmen, because there exist means of transforming men into unthinking instruments of slaughter; and governments, having enlisted or hired men as soldiers, subject them to this process.

VI.

But if this is so, then the question naturally arises: Why do men become soldiers? Why do their fathers allow this?

They could become soldiers, and submit to discipline, so long as they did not realize the consequences. But now that they clearly see the results, why do they go on submitting to the deceit?

They do so because they believe military service to be not only a useful, but an undoubtedly praiseworthy and excellent, occupation. And they think it a good and praiseworthy occupation, because they are taught to do so by the training to which they are subjected from childhood, and which is strenuously maintained in later years.

Therefore, the existence of the army, also, is not the fundamental cause, but only a consequence. The first cause is in the

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doctrine which teaches men that military service, the aim of which is murder, is not only a sinless, but even a commendable, admirable and heroic occupation.

Thus the cause of the miserable condition of mankind lies even deeper than first appears.

At first, it seems that the root of the evil lies in the fact that land-owners have usurped the land, and capitalists the instruments of labor, and that governments extort taxes by violence; but if one asks oneself why the land belongs to the wealthy and laborers are deprived of its use, and why the working classes must pay taxes without profiting by them, and why not workmen but capitalists are masters of the instruments of labor, one realizes that the cause of it all is the existence of an army, which maintains the possession of the land by the wealthy, collects taxes from the working classes for the use of the wealthy, and protects the wealthy in their ownership of the factories and costly instruments of labor.

When one asks oneself why, in an army, the very workmen who have been deprived of all they need, should persecute themselves, their fathers and their brothers, one sees the reason to be that, by the help of methods specially designed for the purpose, conscripted or hired soldiers are trained in such a manner that they lose all that is human in them, and become unconscious and passive instruments of murder in the hands of their superiors.

Finally, when one asks oneself why men, having realized this deception, still continue to enlist as soldiers or to pay taxes for their hire, one sees that the reason of this is in the doctrine which is taught not only to soldiers but to all men generally—that doctrine, according to which military service is an excellent and praiseworthy occupation, and murder during war an innocent action.

Therefore, the fundamental cause of the evil is the doctrine taught to mankind. From it arise poverty and depravity, hatred, executions, and murder.

What is this doctrine?

It is the doctrine called Christianity, and its substance is as follows: There is a God, who, 6,000 years ago, created the world and the man Adam. Adam sinned; and for his sin God punished all men, and then sent His Son—God, like the Father—to the earth in order that he should be executed. The fact that the

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Son of God was crucified delivers men from the punishment they must bear for Adam's sin. If people believe all this, then Adam's sin will be forgiven them; if they do not believe, they will be cruelly punished. Proof that all this is true is given in the fact that it has all been revealed to men by God Himself, knowledge of whose existence is gained from the very men who affirm the doctrine in question. Passing by the various modifications of this fundamental teaching in accordance with different creeds, the general and practical inference from it is the same in all creeds, namely: Men must believe what is taught them, and submit to the existing authorities.

This doctrine is the foundation of the deceit through which men come to consider military service a good and useful occupation, enlist as soldiers, and become like machines, without will, oppressing themselves. If there are unbelievers among these deceived men, they are exceptions; and believing in nothing else, and consequently having no firm basis, they too yield to the general current, and, although they realize the deception, they submit to it as the believers do.

Therefore, in order to remove the evils from which mankind suffers, neither the emancipation of land, nor the abolition of taxes, nor the communizing of the instruments of production, nor even the destruction of existing governments, is required; the only thing needed is the annihilation of the teaching falsely called Christianity, in which the men of our time are educated.

VII.

At first, it seems strange to people who are familiar with the Gospels, that the Christian teaching, which proclaims sonhood to God, spiritual freedom, the brotherhood of man, abolition of all kinds of violence, and even love toward enemies, should have degenerated into the strange doctrine which teaches blind obedience to authority, and even murder if these authorities require it. But if one examines the process by which Christianity entered the world, one realizes the reason for this.

When the Pagan monarchs, Constantine, Charlemagne, Vladimir, adopted Christianity clothed, as it was, in the forms of Paganism, and christened their peoples in the new religion, they did not dream that the teaching they had accepted destroyed the power of kings, the army, and the state itself—institutions with-

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out which the men who first adopted and introduced Christianity could not imagine life. At the beginning, not only was the destructive force of Christianity unnoticed, but men even thought that Christianity supported their authority. But the more Christian the people became the more clearly appeared the essence of Christianity, the more evident grew the danger to Paganism it presented. And the greater that danger became the more laboriously did the ruling classes try to stifle, and if possible to quench, the light they had unconsciously brought into the world with Christianity. For this purpose, they used all possible means—prohibition against reading or translating the Gospels; slaughter of all who pointed out the true meaning of the Christian teaching; hypnotism of the masses by the pomp and splendor of rituals; and especially hair-splitting and equivocal distortions of Christian precepts. In proportion as these methods were employed, Christianity became more and more modified, till at last it became a teaching which not only did not contain any principles destructive to the Pagan system of life, but, on the contrary, justified that system from a pseudo-Christian standpoint.

There appeared Christian monarchs, and Christian armies, and Christian wealth, and Christian law courts, and Christian executions. The ruling classes have done for Christianity what doctors do in epidemics. They have prepared a culture of harmless Christianity; and when once it has been inoculated, true Christianity is no longer dangerous. Church-Christianity must inevitably either repel reasonable men as an outrageous absurdity, or else, if adopted, so utterly alienate men from the true Christianity that through this distorted form they can no longer see its real meaning, and even regard the real meaning with anger and animosity.

This Christianity thus made harmless—evolved during centuries by a wish for self-preservation among the ruling classes—with which the people are inoculated, constitutes the teaching through which men obediently perform actions not only hurtful to themselves and their friends, but distinctly immoral and incompatible with the requirements of conscience; the most important of which actions, by its practical consequences, is the performance of military service, that is, willingness to kill.

The evil of this false Christianity consists chiefly in the fact that it neither prescribes nor prohibits anything. All ancient

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religions, like the law of Moses, gives rules which require or forbid certain actions; it is the same with the Buddhist and Mohammedan religions; but Church-Christianity gives no rules whatever, except verbal professions of faith, the acknowledgment of dogmas, fasts, sacraments, and prayers (and even these can be eluded by people rich enough); it only lies, and permits everything, even actions contrary to the very lowest requirements of morality.

According to this Church doctrine, everything is allowed. One may have slaves (in Europe and America the church was the champion of slavery); one may acquire fortunes gained from the labor of one's oppressed brethren; one may be wealthy in the midst of crowds of Lazaruses crawling under the tables of the revellers—and that is even very good and praiseworthy, if one gives only one thousandth the part for churches and hospitals; one may keep back by violence one's riches from the needy, and imprison men in solitary cells, and put them in irons, and chain them to trucks, and execute them; all this is blessed by the church. One may lead a depraved life during all one's youth, and then call one of these debaucheries by the name of marriage and have it sanctified by the church. One may even divorce and marry again. And, chief of all, one may kill; one may kill in defending not only one's self, but one's apple trees, or in punishment; and especially one may, and it is even one's duty and praiseworthy to, kill in war, at the order of one's superiors. The church not only sanctions but prescribes this.

Thus the root of all the evil is the false teaching. Abolish the false doctrine, and there will be no more armies; and if there are no armies, the violence, oppression, and deprivation to which nations are subjected will disappear of themselves.

So long as men are educated in the pseudo-Christian doctrine which sanctions everything, including murder, the army will remain in the hands of the minority; and the minority will always use that army to extort from the people the products of their labor, and, what is worse than all, to deprave the people—because, if the people were not depraved, the minority could not take from them the fruits of their toil.

VIII.

The root of all the miseries of the people lies in the false doctrine which is taught them under the name of Christianity.

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Therefore, it would seem to the obvious duty of every man who is free from this religious deception and who wishes to serve the people, by word and deed, to aid the deluded masses in delivering themselves from the deception which is the cause of their miserable condition. It would seem that, besides the general duty of every moral man to denounce falsehood and to profess the truth he knows, every man desirous of serving his fellows cannot help, out of pity, wishing to deliver them from the deception to which they are subjected and by which all their misery is caused.

And yet, the very men who are freed from the deception, and independent, and educated on the money of the working people, and therefore bound to serve them, do not realize this.

"Religious doctrines are of no importance," say these people. "It is a question for the conscience of each separate individual. The political, social, and economical organization of society is the necessary and important thing, and to that must be directed all the efforts of the men who wish to serve the people. Religious doctrines are of no importance, and, like all superstitions, they will disappear of themselves when their time comes."

So say these educated men; and wishing to serve the people they enter the service of the government in the army, or as clergy, or members of parliament, endeavoring to improve the external forms of life of the deceived people by participation in the activities of the State, without denouncing the religious deception of which the people are victims. Others, the revolutionists, also do not touch the religious faith of the people, but enter into hostilities with the existing governments, seeking to gain possession of power by the same methods of violence and deception which are used by the governments they oppose. Others, socialists, etc., organize trade unions, co-operations, and strikes, thinking the condition of the people can be improved, although they remain in the same state of superstition or scepticism produced by the false doctrine.

And not only do none of them hinder the diffusion of the false religion which is the cause of all the evil, but when the necessity presents itself, they fulfil the religious rituals which they acknowledge to be a lie; they swear allegiance, they assist at church services and solemnities which stupefy the people; and they do not prevent their own or other people's children from being taught in schools this so-called religious instruction—the very lie upon which is founded the slavery of the people.

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This failure of educated people (who, of all others, could and ought to destroy the false doctrine) to comprehend the chief cause of the evil upon which all their energies should be directed, and the diversion of those energies toward false aims, constitute one of the chief reasons why the existing system of life, which is evidently false, and destructive to all men, maintains itself so firmly.

Because the true Christian teaching, which would meet the requirements of our time, is concealed from men, and a false doctrine is taught in its place, therefore arise all the miseries of our world.

If only men who desire to serve God and their neighbors would realize that humanity is moved not by animal requirements, but by moral forces; and that the chief moral force and motive power of humanity is religion, that is, the clear perception of the meaning of life, and, in consequence of this perception, the discrimination between good and evil, between the important and the non-important; if only men were to realize this, they would see immediately that the fundamental cause of the misery of contemporary humanity is not in the external, material circumstances, neither in political nor economic conditions, but in the perversion of Christianity, in the substitution for truths that are necessary to mankind and that correspond to the needs of the present age, of senseless and immoral absurdities and sacrileges, called Church-Christianity, according to which evil is considered good and the unimportant important, and good is considered evil, and the important of no account.

If only the best and unfettered men, sincerely desirous of serving the people, could realize that it is not possible to improve, by any external means, the condition of a man who thinks it wrong to eat meat on Fridays and right to punish by death a guilty individual; or of one who thinks it important to render the customary homage to an image or an emperor, and a minor duty to swear obedience to the will of other men, and to train himself to murder; if only men could realize that neither parliaments nor strikes, nor trade unions nor co-operative societies, inventions, schools, universities, academies, nor revolutions, can be of any real use to men holding a false religious life conception; if only this were understood, all the energies of the best men would naturally be applied, not to the effects, but to the cause; not to State activity or revolutions, or socialism, but to the denunciation of the false

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religious doctrine, and the rebuilding of the true one. If only men were to act in this way, all the political, economical, and social questions would be solved naturally—not as we speculate and prescribe, but as they ought to be.

These questions will be solved as soon as men's religious life-conception is transformed; and they will be solved the sooner the more we apply our energies, not to the effects, but to the causes of life's phenomena.

* * * * * * *

Looking at the awful system of human life which now prevails, contrary both to reason and feeling, I asked myself, "Can it possibly be necessary?" And the answer I have found is, "No, it is not necessary." It must not, it cannot, it shall not be. But it will cease to be, not when men have reorganized their relations in one way or another, but when they cease to believe the lie in which they are educated, and believe instead the supreme truth, which was revealed to them nineteen hundred years ago, and is clear, simple, and accessible to their reason. LEO TOLSTOY.

A MESSAGE TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE.*

YASNAYA POLYANA.

WHEN I read your letter it seemed to me impossible that I could send any message to the American people. But thinking over it at night, it came to me that, if I had to address the American people, I should like to thank them for the great help I have received from their writers who flourished about the fifties. I would mention Garrison, Parker, Emerson, Ballou and Thoreau, not as the greatest, but as those who, I think, specially influenced me. Other names are Channing, Whittier, Lowell, Walt Whitman—a bright constellation, such as is rarely to be found in the literatures of the world.

And I should like to ask the American people why they do not pay more attention to these voices (hardly to be replaced by those of financial and industrial millionaires, or successful generals and admirals), and continue the good work in which they made such hopeful progress. LEO TOLSTOY.

*Extract from a letter from Count Tolstoy to Mr. Edward Garnett.

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TOLSTOY AND "RESURRECTION."

BY CONSTANCE GARNETT AND EDWARD GARNETT.

I.

In looking at the countless ranks of writers to-day, writers of every degree, of genius, of talent, of excellence, of mediocrity, and at the ever-thronging crowd of imitators following close behind them, we see that here and there a writer stands out, whom men of different nations with one voice hail as a great figure of the age. These few men, proclaimed by common consent great, cast strangely vivid conceptions of life into the minds of their fellow men by summing up for them, in their creative intensity, the creeds of vital import to their own age, creeds re-embodying the great human truths of all the ages. These rare great writers transfigure the common life of man by breathing into it a new spirit. And these great writers will speak for their age to posterity, not because they have followed present-day paths and tendencies, but because the light which they raise aloft, for men to journey by, lights up the path on which the generation is actually going. Such is the great writer's function—by his own attitude to be in himself a revelation, an interpretation, or a deep-searching criticism, of the spirit of his epoch.

Leo Tolstoy is one of these giants among writers, to whom future ages will turn for their interpretation of nineteenth century Europe. The greatest novelist, perhaps, of his age, he will, one ventures to think, be studied not so much for the strength and beauty of his great art, as for the challenge flung at modernity by his creed and his spirit, making his life-work of greater significance to humanity than that of any of the great European artists since Byron's day. Tolstoy's development is well-known. The novelist, of whom the great artist Turgenieff said: "He is the greatest of contemporary novelists; Europe does not contain his

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equal;" the creator, whose analysis of the human soul, in every relation to life, shows a vaster range and deeper insight than is to be found in the work of any nineteenth century writer; the author, whose "War and Peace" and "Anna Karénina" sum up and typify the life of all classes of modern Russia; this man was brought to abandon this art, announcing that his old theory of life was meaningless, asserting that he had slowly gained a new perception of truth—the truth of Christ's Christianity—and he gave as his watchword, "The Kingdom of Heaven is within You."

Tolstoy's full acceptance and proclamation of the Christian precept, "Resist not evil," was a challenge to modernity, inasmuch as it attacks the whole structure of the modern state, and leads logically to the abolition of all such social institutions of civilization as military service, civil justice, taxation, and the Established Church, and would fundamentally alter the relation of the European governing classes towards the people.

Naturally, Tolstoyism was received as pure chimera. The educated public of the European world, the representatives of art and science, of the official classes, and of society generally, deplored the "strange delusions" of so remarkable a man, and declared that Tolstoy's mystical doctrines negate the ideal of progress, and would lead back humanity from civilization to barbarism. Polite society in Russia has tersely set Tolstoy down as mad. Statesmen, politicians, priests, military men, philosophers, and members of the learned professions generally have, with Turgenieff, looked on Tolstoy's philosophy as "mystical, childish and uncompromising," and as the ruin of his art. Nevertheless, indifferent to the almost unanimous verdict of contemporary educated Europe, Tolstoy, for over twenty years, has held to his own path, and has devoted his life to spreading, by his personal example and by his religious writings, his self-developed creed of "Christ's Christianity" as the ideal life for all humanity to follow.

Of late years, however, partly through Tolstoy's action in the Russian famine, and especially through the publication of his last work, "Resurrection," a certain number of men have come to ask themselves whether this educated European opinion in condemning Tolstoy and Tolstoyism was using science truly to determine what the appearance of Tolstoyism indicates, and what its value, what its significance, actually is in the development

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of the Russian soul. If Tolstoy's special value to humanity can be shown to turn on his life-creed's being a challenge to modernity, then the cultured and educated opinion that has condemned his action and his gospel may be said to have shown great blindness of understanding. In declaring that Tolstoyism is a "chimera," composed of "the first prattlings of rationalism in religion and of communism in social matters, the old dream of the Millennium, the tradition preserved since the earliest Middle Ages by the Vaudois, the Lollards, and the Anabaptists;"* "a negation of civilization, corrupting in its social and religious influence, leading to a dismemberment of society;"† "perilously near utter materialism and opposed to the very idea of progress," and "an encouragement of Russian indolence"‡—the critics have forgotten to ask themselves whether the spirit of Tolstoy's teaching may not rather be, (1.) the protest of the genius of the Russian people against ineffectual or misdirected progress; (2.) the healthy recoil of the national instinct against the materialism of modern civilization; (3.) the re-awakening of the Russian conscience to the dark history of the people's oppression, the stirring of the Russian soul in mysterious racial depths—depths that the general Slavophil movement and the rival revolutionary campaign of the Liberal and Progressive political parties of the latter half of the century never succeeded in touching. If Tolstoyism be truly a reassertion, a fresh manifestation, of the Russian people's religious attitude to life—that deep religion of faith which has come out of the whole environment and fate and outlook of the people's life—then we may find, after all, that the "cultured European world," in declaring that "Tolstoyism is opposed to the very idea of progress," has naïvely confused material and intellectual progress with spiritual growth—a very different thing. Have we not sad reason to know that the inventions and discoveries of science that led to the factory and industrial system of the early nineteenth century, helped to degrade and brutalize whole generations of English workers, destroying utterly the roots of their old-world culture, and reducing masses of the population in town and country, through "civilization's" agency, below the level of many fine, barbarous races? Often, in the world's history, a nation's material progress has

*M. de Vogüé.
†Prince Volkonsky.
‡K. Waliszewski.

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brought along with it its spiritual degradation. And the scientists, the critics, and the intellectual men, in trying to lay down the hard, arbitrary lines of Western civilization for the spiritual development of the Russian people, have essayed a dangerous task, for the soul has its own laws of growth.

Even if Tolstoy's teaching could be defined as a decadent force, and traced to fatalism and passivity springing from the old roots of Russian serfdom still in the soil, its appearance should, for the critic, be as significant, as to the healthy state of the community, as the breaking out of old ulcers is as to the health of a man's body. But, with few exceptions, the "world of culture" has preferred to see in Tolstoy's teaching simply the mystical aberrations of a great genius. So much for the perspicuity of latter-day "science!"

II.

This mistaken verdict on Tolstoy's teaching arises largely from the idea, propagated by Tolstoy himself, of regarding his life, work and career simply as divided between two antagonistic halves—(1.) artist and man of the world, and (2.) Christian and ascetic teacher. Now, though it is quite true that the artist of "The Cossacks" and of "Anna Karénina" (1873) views the world from a standpoint different from that of the moral teacher of "The Kingdom of God Is Within You" (1894), nevertheless the whole tendency of Tolstoy's novels and tales is ethical; and, though the artist is always strong enough to state life impartially, the reader always feels that, behind these pictures of life, there is the author with his secret goal, faith in God, in goodness, in love of one's fellow-men. Thus, in "Anna Karénina" Levin's search for a moral basis for joy and satisfaction in life is the secret standard against which most of the characters—Anna, Vronsky, Stepan, Kitty, Dolly—are measured, defined, adjudged; in "War and Peace" again, the whole marvellous analysis of modern war—war as a great, hypnotizing force, generated by fraud, vanity, vainglory, destructive of man's moral instincts, debauching the masses by the contagion of its cruel senselessness and far-reaching depravities—is really inspired by Tolstoy's central thought, Why is all this evil delirium and lust of cruelty, this senseless brutality, *glorified* by mankind?

"The Cossacks" enforces Tolstoy's favorite theme of the

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superiority of the simple, rude life of the peasant, or Cossack, over the cultured, artificial, complex outlook of the upper-class officer. "Childhood, Boyhood and Youth" is the most remorseless scrutiny of the affectation and self-consciousness of youth and youth's sentimentalism; and, already in this early book, the author is seeking the why and wherefore of life, seeking what can be found worthy under all these veils of illusions and worldly pretences. In "The Death of Ivan Ilyitch" we find again an extraordinarily acute analysis of the life of worldly success, and of the artificiality of the cultured, upper-class conception of life. "Family Happiness," with its presentation of the poetic glamor of romantic love, is as a half-way house of disillusionment on the road to Tolstoy's ascetic ideal of sexual relations, an ideal which we find, years afterward, developed into the absolute asceticism of the "Kreutzer Sonata."

In fact, if we were to deduce a set of clear, simple, practical laws of morality from Tolstoy's novels to guide us in our life on earth, we should find embodied in them nearly all Tolstoy's inner aspirations toward the carrying out of the teaching of the Gospels. But the artist, seeing the inevitability of the characters, and circumstances, and appetites of men, presents us with a clear statement as to how it is that evil and vanity and materialism are perpetually inherent in the worldly scheme of things. The morality is not yet, in the novels, crystallized into a definite code; but it is there in solution. The chief difference between the Tolstoy of 1875 and the Tolstoy of 1895 is not that they are working toward a different goal, but that the latter alone thinks it his duty to tell all men the necessity of trying to reach it. The world, indeed, would like to see Tolstoy keep at the same stage as we see Levin is kept at in "Anna Karénina"—seeking the truth, but sceptical as to the use of teaching it to others. But the critics do not explain to us how it was possible that so great a hatred of war as Tolstoy's, so great a zeal for honesty and simplicity of life, so burning a desire for brotherliness and charity among all men, could find perpetual expression in the artist's mere joy in the representation of life as a spectacle. If we once grant that "Anna Karénina" and "War and Peace" owe their force and grandeur to the keenness of the moralist's vision, examining critically the great panorama of life moving inevitably onwards, then in Tolstoy's further development, either the moral-

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ist must have died down—in which case we cannot conceive what his art would have become—or else the moralist must have striven to apply his creed to actual life, finding pure contemplation of life, apart from this ideal, less and less satisfactory.

III.

This last is what actually happened in Tolstoy's development. The ethical teacher came into possession of his kingdom. That this was inevitable, we have hinted above. What literature may have lost, is an open question. In the first place, his criticism and experience of the Russian world, and his peculiar method of analyzing life, he had already given to humanity; in his twenty years of literary work, he had pronounced on History, War, Woman, Love, the relation of the peasant world to the official classes. It was unlikely that a realist of his stamp should deliberately find greater worlds to envisage, having so nearly reached to his spiritual conclusions.

For ourselves, we see Tolstoy's ideas, life and work as forming a continuous, though irregular, advance down a series of commanding slopes, leaving behind the high vantage grounds of art, but finally reaching his destination in the vast plain stretching beneath, the common ground of the brotherhood of men. And it is our contention that "Resurrection" both demonstrates and vindicates the inner necessity of his life's final phase—as a great moral teacher.

IV.

In looking at the list of Russia's chief writers since Pushkin's day, we are struck by one tone common to all of them. While passionately occupied with expressing the Russian soul, they are all more or less accusers of Russian life. Thus Pisemsky, Nekrasov, Shtchedrin, cynics and satirists; thus Ostrovsky, Dostoyevsky, Garshin, Tchehov, Gorky, painters chiefly of the world of darkness; thus even Gogol's and Gontcharov's chief subject matter is the amusing follies and weakness natural to the Russian's life. Even the inaugurators of the new age of Emancipation—Turgenieff, Hertzen, Tchernyshevsky, Bielinsky and Dobrolinbov—are only half-believers in man's ability to conquer for himself a new fate. Tolstoy is the least pessimistic and the least disbelieving of them all, in his pictures of Russian life.

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But what does Tolstoy's optimism rest upon? Not faith in man's energy and character—the Anglo-Saxon's stronghold against despair—for the Russian, if we are to believe his delineators, has profound reason to know his own incurable sloth, and inertia, and lack of will; but upon the very foundation of the Russian's moral nature, upon his peculiar sense of the brotherhood of man, of his kinship with his fellows who are beaten down, with the afflicted and the unsuccessful in life's struggle. We find in nearly all Russian writers that their intensely keen and biting criticism of human shortcomings, and their despairing consciousness of men's failure to carry out their aspirations toward the good, are rooted in a feeling of self-accusation, and in their vivid recognition of their own weakness. They, these critics and accusers of Russian life, are no better than anybody; nay, they exalt the sinner, the beggar, the peasant, the victim of vice, and in so doing they manifest their deep sense of human equality and of men's brotherhood, and raise human compassion and charity high as the ideal to be followed. This ideal is never absent from the satirists—Shtchedrin, Pisemsky, Nekrasov—even when they are most bitter, ferocious or despairing, in their pictures of life. But Tolstoy, after Dostoyevsky, of all the great writers is the one who has most cast himself forward in pure faith that to attain to self-renunciation is the one blessed solution—with its rule, "Do to others as ye would that they should do to you." Accordingly, when Tolstoy, after analyzing life, came to the clear conviction that love of humanity is the one great ideal for men on earth to strive after, he was plunging into the deepest depths of the Russian's spiritual nature; and his renunciation of the world, as an æsthetic spectacle of human energy and passion, became symbolic of the aspiration that redeems the national life itself, became symbolic of the process by which Russian spirituality is evolved out of the hard pressure of nature on man, out of the hard legacy that the bitterness of Russian history has left from generation to generation.

What is the strongest quality of the Russian mind? The intellectual sincerity which we call his *realism,* acquired through contact with perpetual sorrow, through never being able to escape the perception of the nothingness of the individual life beside the power of the Earth, of Nature, of the Will of God in decreeing the lines of man's fate. Nothing keeps a man so scrupulously

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honest with himself, so bitterly free from illusions and sentimentalities and romanticism, as feeling constantly within him his own weakness and ineffectualness in facing the stern, harsh facts which dominate life around him. Accordingly, the Russian nature has, in self-defence, to find *in the very recognition of the harsh reality* crushing it, the elements of its chief strength; and its feeling of its own weakness it is which creates its comprehension and love and idealization of the sufferer. This comprehension and deification of suffering is the deepest, the richest, possession of the Russian nature. It is this spirituality, arising from *unworthiness,* which forbids it to pass judgment. Without this national consciousness of suffering, this tenderness of perception and instinctive sympathy, the Russian soul could not exist; it is its way of escape from hardening into the monstrous inhumanity of acquiescence in evil. And thus Tolstoyism, as the expression of Christ's Christianity, may be said to be the long accumulating outcry of a people's accusing conscience, of their bad conscience, of the perception of the seas of human suffering, poverty, sorrow, disease, stagnation, in Russian history, in the Russian earth, and in the modern Russian state. The "cultured and educated European world," therefore, that serenely pushes forward science, education, progress as the panacea for the evils of life in Holy Russia, are like physicians called in to prescribe material remedies for the soul's anguish. Schools, science, free political institutions may be, and are, one side of the "progress" necessary; but, through the immense difficulty of introducing foreign institutions into the life of the people, this treatment, though backed by the ceaseless propaganda of two generations of Russian social and political reformers, cannot be said to have shown great results. And therefore may we not argue that to call forth, as Tolstoy does, fresh floods of the love, the brotherhood, the charity that the Russian by the necessity of his life carries ever within him, points to one of the most natural, the most simple, paths of progress that the people's development can take? Is not Tolstoyism, in this sense, the sign of a national movement in Russia of the deepest significance?

V.

Fortunately for humanity, Tolstoy has in "Resurrection" revealed his gospel, so that no thoughtful reader can possibly mis-

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take it. In attacking the main institutions of the organized state, the government, the army, the law-courts, he is again giving expression to what lies at the root of the genuine Russian outlook upon life. All the modern state's complex institutions, such as the law, are in a sense opposed to the Russian genius, because they substitute for the living impulse toward the communal virtues of the individual a frigid, systematized code-morality. Now Tolstoy's life-work has been one long struggle against the sway over men's minds of rote ideas, or words of command from abstract authority in any shape—from Church dogma, class convention, the assumption of superiority of the classes, the particular science or education in fashion. To them he opposes the simple, instinctive morality of the people, the morality that has grown up out of the actual facts of life itself. The artificiality, pretentiousness, falsity, mechanical morality of cultured society, which borrows its patchwork of authoritative ideas from many heterogeneous civilizations, and does not derive them from its own work and joy in life, is shown by Tolstoy to afford but poor soil from which any fine national life, or, indeed, any deep philosophy of life, can spring.

The one question that Tolstoy, like all great creators, asks, is: What does the individual man *think and feel* amidst the imposing appearances of a society based on worldly success and power? The amazing triumph of "Resurrection" is that it demonstrates that official Russia, and the European upper classes generally, have elaborated a complex structure of state-regulated morality, equally false in relation to the facts of the people's life and the needs of their soul. In "Resurrection," we have the whole imposing machinery of State-Justice sketched for us, and we behold it at work distorting the humane instincts, the common sense, the very impulse of justice in every living man and woman brought within reach to assist at its triumph. The great state that perpetually manufactures criminals by its organization of compulsory military service, its drink traffic, its grinding taxation of the peasant, its legalized corruption among officials, its suppression of the private individual's efforts to organize education—the state that has exiled the finest flower of its intellectual youth—fabricates a false state-morality out of the very mouths of those whose livelihood depends upon keeping themselves in perpetual power.

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In this sense, the modern state and state-morality are like two great wheels, continually turning men by their irresistible force from exercising their simple human instincts of justice and mercy toward their fellows. The upper classes will continue to exploit the peasants for the benefit of the state. The officials will continue to judge and persecute the victims of state-manufactured vice for the sake of governmental security. Society will continue to explain that "science," "progress," and "reform" depend upon the machinery of the state being kept in the hands of the bureaucracy—to continue the caste system *ad infinitum*. And to an outsider it would, indeed, seem that an administrative system, whereby the official world throws responsibility for evil on the machinery itself, is peculiarly calculated to foster from generation to generation the national malady of indolence. Thus the growth of state domination, and the extension of state-morality, may actually mean the *gradual putting to sleep of the national conscience*. If, for example, the governing world makes it inevitable that whole peasant communities should rot with syphilis (through the state's returning infected recruits straight back to their native villages), and science is only called in to assist in the perpetration of such enormities; and, further, if the bureaucracy devise a severe code of punishment for the Progressives who combine to introduce social reforms, may not Tolstoy's "Bind not yourself to the state" be a preservative of the moral ideas of the race, against the misapplication of Western civilization? And in a wider sense applying to the life of all European communities, Tolstoyism may signify the protest of the individual soul against the subjugation of the community's sense of right and wrong by that aggressive Spirit of the Age, which, under the plea of "civilization," would exploit nineteen-twentieths of humanity for the benefit of its masters—capitalists, commercialists, militarists, imperialistic statesmen, empire-builders.

Is not that what Tolstoy's work has always done for us, in "War and Peace" as in "Resurrection"—viz: to arraign before the judgment of each man's heart the community's dogmas, the dogmas which mankind generates whenever it gathers itself together in bodies, coteries or masses, whether as aristocratic society, or commercial classes, or democracy, or caucuses, or an army on the march, or as the churches and their flocks? Perpetually Tolstoy shows us that the oracular pronouncement of the official, or

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priest, or general, or diplomatist, before which men bow their heads in awed reverence, is for the most part but an imposing falsehood to dupe the average man, stifling and strangling the human impulse, the sense of right and wrong, and the very common sense of the magnate himself. Mankind is taken in by these impressive shams, by the pomp and prestige of office, by the "glory" of military life, by the "reputation" of politicians, by the material shows of commerce, by the ceremonial of royalty, by the "scientific" laws by which economists dignify the exploitation of the multitude for the gain of the few. And if men, as Tolstoy does, could pierce through these cunningly built-up appearances by which worldly power decrees the course each generation shall take, they would be amazed at the sham sense, the sham thought, sham feeling which leads and directs the average human mind to acquiesce and assist in the world's constant folly and wrong-doing.

Examine Tolstoy's method of analysis:

THE PEASANT WORLD.

"Nekhlûdoff asked the foreman to let the women take the cows, and went back into the garden to go on thinking out his problem, but there was nothing more to think about.

"Everything seemed so clear to him now that he could not stop wondering how it was that everybody did not see it, and that he himself had for such a long while not seen what was so clearly evident. The people were dying out, and had got used to the dying out process, and had formed habits of life adapted to this process; there was the great mortality among the children, the over-working of the women, the under-feeding, especially of the aged. And so gradually had the people come to this condition that they did not realize the full horrors of it, and did not complain. Therefore, we consider their condition natural and as it should be. Now it seemed as clear as daylight that the chief cause of the people's great want was one that they themselves knew and

THE OFFICIAL WORLD.

"Count Iván Michâelovitch had been a minister, and was a man of strong convictions. The convictions of Count Iván Michâelovitch consisted in the belief that, just as it was natural for a bird to feed on worms, to be clothed in feathers and down, and to fly in the air, so it was natural for him to feed on the choicest and most expensive food, prepared by highly-paid cooks, to wear the most comfortable and most expensive clothing, to drive with the best and fastest horses, and that, therefore, all these things should be ready found for him. Besides this, Count Iván Michâelovitch considered that the more money he could get out of the treasury by all sorts of means, the more orders he had, including different diamond insignia of something or other, and the oftener he spoke to highly-placed individuals of both sexes, so much the better it was.

"All the rest Count Iván Michâelovitch considered insignificant and uninteresting beside these

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always pointed out, *i. e.*, that the land which alone could feed them had been taken from them by the landlords.

"And how evident it was that the children and the aged died because they had no milk, and they had no milk because there was no pasture land, and no land to grow corn or make hay on. It was quite evident that all the misery of the people or, at least, by far the greater part of it, was caused by the fact that the land which should feed them was not in their hands, but in the hands of those who, profiting by their rights to the land, live by the work of these people. The land so much needed by men was tilled by these people, who were on the verge of starvation, so that the corn might be sold abroad and the owners of the land might buy themselves hats and canes, and carriages and bronzes, &c. He understood this as clearly as he understood that horses when they have eaten all the grass in the inclosure where they are kept will have to grow thin and starve unless they are put where they can get food off other land.

"This was terrible and must not go on. Means must be found to alter it, or at least not to take part in it. 'And I will find them,' he thought, as he walked up and down the paths under the birch trees.

"In scientific circles, Government institutions and in the papers we talk about the causes of the poverty among the people, and the means of ameliorating their condition; but we do not talk of the only one means which would certainly lighten their condition, *i. e.*, giving back to them the land they need so much."

"Ressurection" (Chapter vi.)

* * * * *

"When they came nearer the prison, and the isvóstchik turned

dogmas. All the rest might be as it was, or just the reverse. Count Iván Micháelovitch lived and acted according to these lights for forty years, and at the end of forty years reached the position of a Minister of State. The chief qualities that enabled Count Iván Micháelovitch to reach this position were his capacity of understanding the meaning of documents and laws and of drawing up, though clumsily, intelligible State papers, and of spelling them correctly; secondly, his very stately appearance, which enabled him, when necessary, to seem not only extremely proud, but unapproachable and majestic, while at other times he could be abjectly and almost passionately servile; thirdly, the absence of any general principles or rules, either of personal or administrative morality, which made it possible for him either to agree or disagree with anybody according to what was wanted at the time. When acting thus his only endeavor was to sustain the appearance of good breeding and not to seem too plainly inconsistent. As for his actions being moral or not, in themselves, or whether they were going to result in the highest evil or greatest welfare for the whole of the Russian Empire, or even the entire world, that was quite indifferent to him. When he became a Minister, not only those dependent on him (and there were a great many of them) and people connected with him, but many strangers, and even he himself were convinced that he was a very clever statesman. But after some time had elapsed, and he had done nothing and had nothing to show, and when in accordance with the law of the struggle for existence others, like himself, who had learned to write and understand documents, stately and unprincipled officials, had displaced

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off the paved on to the macadamized road, it became easier to talk, and he again turned to Nekhlúdoff.

"'And what a lot of these people are flocking to the town nowadays; it's awful,' he said, turning round on the box and pointing to a party of peasant workmen who were coming towards them carrying saws, axes, sheepskins, coats and bags strapped to their shoulders.

"'More than in other years?' Nekhlúdoff asked.

"'By far. This year every place is crowded, so that it's just terrible. The employers just fling the workmen about like chaff. Not a job to be got.'

"'Why is that?'

"'They've increased. There's no room for them.'

"'Well, what if they have increased? Why do not they stay in the village?'

"'There's nothing for them to do in the village—no land to be had.'"

"Nekhlúdoff felt as one does when touching a sore place. It feels as if the bruised part was always being hit; yet it is only because the place is sore that the touch is felt.

"'Is it possible that the same thing is happening everywhere?' he thought, and began questioning the isvóstchik about the quantity of land in his village, how much land the man himself had, and why he had left the country.

"'We have a desiatin per man, sir,' he said. 'Our family have three men's shares of the land. My father and a brother are at home, and manage the land, and another brother is serving in the army. But there's nothing to manage. My brother has had thoughts of coming to Moscow, too.'

"'And cannot land be rented?'

"'How's one to rent it nowadays? The gentry, such as they him, he turned out to be not only far from clever but very limited and badly educated. Though self-assured, his views hardly reaching the level of those in the leading articles of the Conservative papers, it became apparent that there was nothing in him to distinguish him from those other badly educated and self-assured officials who had pushed him out, and he himself saw it. But this did not shake his conviction that he had to receive a great deal of money out of the Treasury every year, and new decorations for his dress clothes. This conviction was so firm that no one had the pluck to refuse these things to him, and he received yearly, partly in form of a pension, partly as a salary for being a member in a Government institution and chairman of all sorts of committees and councils, several tens of thousands of roubles, besides the right—highly prized by him—of sewing all sorts of new cords to his shoulders and trousers, and ribbons to wear under and enamel stars to fix on to his dress coat. In consequence of this Count Iván Michaélovitch had very high connections."

"Resurrection" (Chapter xv.)

* * * * *

"Vladimir Vasilievitch Wolf was certainly *un homme très comme il faut*, and prized this quality very highly, and from that elevation he looked down at everybody else. He could not but esteem this quality of his very highly, because it was thanks to it alone that he had made a brilliant career, the very career he desired—*i. e.*, by marriage he obtained a fortune which brought him in 18,000 roubles a year, and by his own exertions the post of a senator. He considered himself not only *un homme très comme il faut*, but also a man of knightly honor. By honor he understood not accepting secret

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were, have squandered all theirs. Men of business have got it all into their own hands. One can't rent it from them. They farm it themselves.'"

"Resurrection" (Chapter xii.)

bribes from private persons. But he did not consider it dishonest to beg money for payment of fares and all sorts of travelling expenses from the Crown, and to do anything the Government might require of him in return. To ruin hundreds of innocent people, to cause them to be imprisoned, to be exiled because of their love of their people and the religion of their fathers, as he had done in one of the governments of Poland when he was governor there."

"Resurrection" (Chapter xiv.)

The broad justice of this analysis of the life of the rich and the poor is indisputable. These two pictures, true to every age, might be paralleled in the literature of every people, and especially in the Old Testament, which is continually inveighing against the rich man who grinds the faces of the poor. Where Tolstoy's peculiar genius comes in, however, is in explaining how it is that, when the facts of life have been crystallized into a particularly evil system, the community, one and all, invent a special doctrine by which it is sanctioned and maintained. Against collective human greed and the contagious ideas it generates in the crowd, Tolstoy shows us there is only one weapon—the moral indignation of the heart. It is useless to enter into argument with society, for society forthwith calls upon the scientists and economists and professors to show that any particular manifestation of human lust and cruelty is, in fact, for the ultimate good, and not for the harm, of humanity at large. To combat the vice and folly and stupidity of human society, Tolstoy presents a final resource for the individual, in his simple refusal to take any part in the organization of the state.

VI.

In our judgment, Tolstoyism, as a moral force, cannot be summed up or estimated from the number of its actual adherents. It is the idea, the moral idea, it brings—the great state as a collective organization works to stultify the moral sense of its individual members—that may hereafter help intelligent men to loosen the over-tight bonds the community imposes on its members. The danger of bodies of men being led to support, collectively, acts which, in their individual judgment, each condemns,

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grows in proportion to numbers, as America lately has reason to know.

And as public opinion becomes more and more cosmopolitan, and ideas are interchanged swiftly and easily among all groups, all nations and all communities, mankind may well grow more and more skeptical as to the special sanctity of each state's decrees which set the patriots of one nation busily slaughtering the patriots of the next. Tolstoyism, construed as the individual's right to act on the moral impulse of his heart, and to refuse to kill his fellow man at the dictates of State or Church, at the suggestion of politician or journalist, this may yet be a force in progress which future ages, disputing our modern scientists' dicta, may come to count as an "advance."

VII.

Leaving on one side the question of the force Tolstoyism may exercise in man's development in the future, let us state in a few words Tolstoy's place as a great representative man. It must be allowed that, at this epoch, the civilized world is in a curiously chaotic state in all that concerns its moral beliefs. The standards of science, hastily introduced, have half-destroyed for the average mind the old standards of religion; and it is very doubtful whether men can ever guide themselves by, or master, a real science of morals. Tolstoy makes his final appeal to the heart of the individual man.

Tolstoyism is not "the old dream of the millennium, the tradition of the Lollards and the Anabaptists," because, though half-resting on the faith that the altruistic life is best for man, it rests partly on the intellectual theory that man's immorality is determined by the hypnotic influence of the mass on its members, and that, where the individual man shall dare to bring into action his innate morality, he will gain in intelligence as he more and more escapes being the passive tool of others.

On the side of its propaganda of moral asceticism, Tolstoyism may, perhaps, be summed up as a reversion to primitive Christianity; but, on the side of its destructive criticism of state-morality, it must be looked upon as an emancipating intellectual movement.

Anyway, Tolstoy's significance to Russia is not to be challenged. The enormous and rapid expansion of the Russian Empire over Central Asia, from Siberia to the gates of China, her

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building of great railways, subjugation of barbarous tribes, and advance to the Pacific—how has all this immense work been paid for? By the blood and sweat of the Russian peasant. Unborn Russian generations and the inhabitants of new territories may reap ultimately the benefit of Russia's advance, as the high priests of "civilization" affirm. But if the vast system is inevitable, is it well that the cry of distress from the exploited Russian workers should call forth no answering cry of indignation from those who speak for the people? We see that while Russia's masses are still kept in semi-mediæval ignorance and suffering, while the compensations of mediæval life have vanished long ago, while the discoveries of science load fresh burdens on the workers' backs, the great thinker who stands for the conscience of his race is driven deep into his own soul, into the national soul, into the depths of faith in the brotherhood of man.

Tolstoy is like a giant striding two worlds; he brings together the upper-class world, with its routine official work, its ineffectual fatherliness and dilettantism, and the peasant world, with its primitive faith, its bitter sorrows, its naïve credulity. For "culture" and for the critics to say of Tolstoy's gospel, "This ought not to be," or "This ought to be different," is like putting the question, "Do I approve of the history of Russia?" As we have said, the really great representative men stand each for the human embodiment of centuries of their people's tendencies, and centuries of their character and outlook necessitated by their history and environment. They are as great rivers of inherent nationalism, which, rising, show to the eye the rush and swollen volume of the torrent of present-day questions, but rivers whose bed, whose banks, whose course, have been carved by past ages, and cannot be otherwise than they are. For Tolstoy, the great artist and great moralist, to adequately represent his people, it was necessary for him to return to the deepest wells of their faith, and bring again before the Russian mind the vital import, to the great world of workers, of the brotherhood of men. And the protest of "Resurrection" against the onrush of humanity's materialism and greed will seem to future generations as a rescuing hand releasing the flesh of suffering men from the ordered mechanism of our modern society's vast and complex machine.

CONSTANCE GARNETT,
EDWARD GARNETT.

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TO MY MISSIONARY CRITICS.

BY MARK TWAIN.

I HAVE received many newspaper cuttings; also letters from several clergymen; also a note from the Rev. Dr. Judson Smith, Corresponding Secretary of the American Board of Foreign Missions—all of a like tenor; all saying, substantially, what is said in the cutting here copied:

"AN APOLOGY DUE FROM MR. CLEMENS.

"The evidence of the past day or two should induce Mark Twain to make for the amen corner and formulate a prompt apology for his scathing attack on the Rev. Dr. Ament, the veteran Chinese missionary. The assault was based on a Pekin dispatch to the New York *Sun*, which said that Dr. Ament had collected from the Chinese in various places damages thirteen times in excess of actual losses. So Mark Twain charged Mr. Ament with bullyragging, extortion and things. A Pekin dispatch to the *Sun* yesterday, however, explains that the amount collected was not thirteen times the damage sustained, but *one-third in excess of the indemnities*, and that the blunder was due to a cable error in transmission. The 1-3d got converted into 13. Yesterday the Rev. Judson Smith, Secretary of the American Board, received a dispatch from Dr. Ament, calling attention to the cable blunder, and declaring that all the collections which he made were *approved by the Chinese officials*. The fractional amount that was collected in *excess* of actual losses, he explains, is being *used for the support of widows and orphans*.

"So collapses completely—and convulsively—Mark Twain's sensational and ugly bombardment of a missionary whose character and services should have exempted him from such an assault.

"From the charge the underpinning has been knocked out. To Dr. Ament Mr. Clemens has done an injustice which is gross but unintentional. If Mark Twain is the man we take him to be he won't be long in filing a retraction, plus an apology."

I have no prejudice against apologies. I trust I shall never withhold one when it is due; I trust I shall never even have a disposition to do so. These letters and newspaper paragraphs are entitled to my best attention; respect for their writers and for the humane feeling which has prompted their utterances requires this of me. It may be barely possible that, if these requests for

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an apology had reached me before the 20th of February, I might have had a sort of qualified chance to apologize; but on that day appeared the two little cablegrams referred to in the newspaper cutting copied above—one from the Rev. Dr. Smith to the Rev. Dr. Ament, the other from Dr. Ament to Dr. Smith—and my small chance died then. In my opinion, these cablegrams ought to have been suppressed, for it seems clear that they give Dr. Ament's case entirely away. Still, that is only an opinion, and may be a mistake. It will be best to examine the case from the beginning, by the light of the documents connected with it.

EXHIBIT A.

This is a dispatch from Mr. Chamberlain,* chief of the *Sun's* correspondence staff in Pekin. It appeared in the *Sun* last Christmas Eve, and in referring to it hereafter I will call it the "C. E. dispatch" for short:

"The Rev. Mr. Ament, of the American Board of Foreign Missions, has returned from a trip which he made for the purpose of collecting indemnities for damages done by Boxers. Everywhere he went he compelled the Chinese to pay. He says that all his native Christians are now provided for. He had seven hundred of them under his charge, and three hundred were killed. He has collected 300 taels for each of these murders, and has compelled full payment for all the property belonging to Christians that was destroyed. He also assessed fines amounting to thirteen times† the amount of the indemnity. This money will be used for the propagation of the Gospel.

"Mr. Ament declares that the compensation he has collected is moderate when compared with the amount secured by the Catholics, who demand, in addition to money, head for head. They collect 500 taels for each murder of a Catholic. In the Wen-Chiu country 680 Catholics were killed, and for this the European Catholics here demand 750,000 strings of cash and 680 heads.

"In the course of a conversation Mr. Ament referred to the attitude of the missionaries toward the Chinese. He said:

" 'I deny emphatically that the missionaries are vindictive, that they generally looted, or that they have done anything since the siege that the circumstances did not demand. I criticise the Americans. The soft hand of the Americans is not as good as the mailed fist of the Germans. If you deal with the Chinese with a soft hand they will take advantage of it.' "

In an article addressed "To the Person Sitting in Darkness," published in the NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW for February, I made some comments upon this C. E. dispatch.

In an Open Letter to me, from the Rev. Dr. Smith, published

*Testimony of the manager of the Sun.

†Cable error. For "thirteen times" read "one-third." This correction was made by Dr. Ament in his brief cablegram published Feb. 20, above referred to.

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in the *Tribune* of February 15th, doubt is cast upon the authenticity of the dispatch.

Up to the 20th of February, this doubt was an important factor in the case: Dr. Ament's brief cablegram, published on that date, took the importance all out of it.

In the Open Letter, Dr. Smith quotes this passage from a letter from Dr. Ament, dated November 13th. The italics are mine:

"*This* time I proposed to settle affairs *without the aid of soldiers* or legations."

This cannot mean two things, but only one: that, previously, he *had* collected by armed force.

Also, in the Open Letter, Dr. Smith quotes some praises of Dr. Ament and the Rev. Mr. Tewksbury, furnished by the Rev. Dr. Sheffield, and says:

"Dr. Sheffield is not accustomed to speak thus of *thieves*, or *extortioners*, or *braggarts*."

What can he mean by those vigorous expressions? Can he mean that the first two would be applicable to a missionary who should collect from B, with the "aid of soldiers," indemnities possibly due by A, and upon occasion go out looting?

EXHIBIT B.

Testimony of George Lynch (endorsed as entirely trustworthy by the *Tribune* and the *Herald*), war correspondent in the Cuban and South African wars, and in the march upon Pekin for the rescue of the legations. The italics are mine:

"When the *soldiers* were prohibited from looting, no such prohibitions seemed to operate with the *missionaries*. For instance, the *Rev. Mr. Tewksbury held a great sale of looted goods, which lasted several days.*

"A day or two after the relief, when looking for a place to sleep in, I met the Rev. Mr. Ament, of the American Board of Foreign Missions. *He told me* he was going to take possession of the house of a wealthy Chinaman who was an old enemy of his, as he had interfered much in the past with his missionary labors in Pekin. A couple of days afterward *he did so*, and held a *great sale of his enemy's effects*. I bought a sable cloak at it for $125, and a couple of statues of Buddha. As the stock became depleted *it was replenished by the efforts of his converts, who were ransacking the houses in the neighborhood.*"—*N. Y. Herald, Feb.* 18.

It is Dr. Smith, not I, who has suggested that persons who act in this way are "thieves and extortioners."

EXHIBIT C.

Sir Robert Hart, in the *Fortnightly Review* for January, 1901.

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This witness has been for many years the most prominent and important Englishman in China, and bears an irreproachable reputation for moderation, fairness and truth-speaking. In closing a description of the revolting scenes which followed the occupation of Pekin, when the Christian armies (with the proud exception of the American soldiery, let us be thankful for that,) gave themselves up to a ruthless orgy of robbery and spoliation, he says (the italics are mine):

"And even some *missionaries* took such a *leading* part in 'spoiling the Egyptians' for the greater glory of God that a bystander was heard to say: *'For a century to come Chinese converts will consider looting and vengeance Christian virtues!'* "

It is Dr. Smith, not I, who has suggested that persons who act in this way are "thieves and extortioners." According to Mr. Lynch and Mr. Martin (another war correspondent), Dr. Ament helped to spoil several of those Egyptians. Mr. Martin took a photograph of the scene. It was reproduced in the *Herald.* I have it.

EXHIBIT D.

In a brief reply to Dr. Smith's Open Letter to me, I said this in the *Tribune.* I am italicizing several words—for a purpose:

"Whenever he (Dr. Smith) can produce from the Rev. Mr. Ament an assertion that the *Sun's* character-blasting dispatch was not authorized *by him,* and whenever Dr. Smith can buttress Mr. Ament's disclaimer with a confession from *Mr. Chamberlain,* the head of the Laffan News Service in China, that that dispatch was a false invention *and unauthorized,* the case against Mr. Ament will fall at once to the ground."

EXHIBIT E.

Brief cablegrams, referred to above, which passed between Dr. Smith and Dr. Ament, and were published on February 20th:

"Ament, Peking: Reported December 24 your collecting thirteen times actual losses; using for propagating the Gospel. Are these statements true? Cable specific answer. SMITH."

"Statement untrue. Collected 1-3 for church expenses, additional actual damages; now supporting widows and orphans. Publication thirteen times blunder cable. All collections received approval Chinese officials, who are urging further settlements same line. AMENT."

Only two questions are asked; "specific" answers required; no perilous wanderings among the other details of the unhappy dispatch desired.

EXHIBIT F.

Letter from Dr. Smith to me, dated March 8th. The italics are mine; they tag inaccuracies of statement:

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"Permit me to call your attention to the marked paragraphs in the inclosed papers, and to ask you to note their relation to the two conditions named in your letter to the *New York Tribune* of February 15th.

"The first is *Dr. Ament's denial of the truth of the dispatch in the New York 'Sun'* of December 24th, on which your criticisms of him in the NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW of February were founded. The second is a correction by the *'Sun's' special correspondent* in Peking of the dispatch printed in the *Sun* of December 24th.

"Since, as you state in your letter to the *Tribune*, 'the case against Mr. Ament would fall to the ground' *if Mr. Ament denied the truth* of the *Sun's* first dispatch, and *if the 'Sun's' news agency* in Peking also *declared that dispatch false*, and these two conditions *have thus been fulfilled*, I am sure that upon having these *facts* brought to your attention you will gladly withdraw the criticisms that were *founded on a 'cable blunder.'*"

I think Dr. Smith ought to read me more carefully; then he would not make so many mistakes. Within the narrow space of two paragraphs, totaling eleven lines, he has scored nine departures from fact out of a possible 9½. Now, is that parliamentary? I do not treat him like that. Whenever I quote him, I am particular not to do him the least wrong, or make him say anything he did not say.

(1.) Mr. Ament doesn't "deny the truth of the C. E. dispatch;" he merely changes one of its phrases, without materially changing the meaning, and (immaterially) corrects a cable blunder (which correction I accept). He was asked no question about the other four-fifths of the C. E. dispatch. (2.) I said nothing about "special" correspondents; I named the right and responsible man—Mr. Chamberlain. The "correction" referred to is a repetition of the one I have just accepted, which (immaterially) changes "thirteen times" to "one-third" extra-tax. (3.) I did not say anything about "the *Sun's* news agency;" I said "Chamberlain." I have every confidence in Mr. Chamberlain, but I am not personally acquainted with the others. (4.) Once more—Mr. Ament didn't "deny the truth" of the C. E. dispatch, but merely made unimportant emendations of a couple of its many details. (5.) I did not say "if Mr. Ament denied the truth" of the C. E. dispatch: I said, if he would assert that the dispatch was not "authorized" *by him*. For example, I did not suppose that the charge that the Catholic missionaries wanted 680 Chinamen beheaded was true; but I did want to know if Dr. Ament personally authorized that statement and the others, as coming from his lips. Another detail: one of my conditions was that

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Mr. Chamberlain must not stop with confessing that the C. E. was a "false invention," he must also confess that it was "*unauthorized.*" Dr. Smith has left out that large detail. (6.) The *Sun's* news agency did not "declare the C. E. dispatch false," but confined itself to correcting one unimportant detail of its long list—the change of "13 times" to "one-third" extra. (7.) The "two conditions" have not "been fulfilled"—far from it. (8.) Those details labeled "facts" are only fancies. (9.) Finally, my criticisms were by no means confined to that detail of the C. E. dispatch which we now accept as having been a "cable blunder."

Setting to one side these nine departures from fact, I find that what is left of the eleven lines is straight and true. I am not blaming Dr. Smith for these discrepancies—it would not be right, it would not be fair. I make the proper allowances. He has not been a journalist, as I have been—a trade wherein a person is brought to book by the rest of the press so often for divergencies that, by and by, he gets to be almost morbidly afraid to indulge in them. It is so with me. I always have the disposition to tell what is not so; I was born with it; we all have it. But I try not to do it now, because I have found out that it is unsafe. But with the Doctor of course it is different.

EXHIBIT G.

I wanted to get at the whole of the facts as regards the C. E. dispatch, and so I wrote to China for them, when I found that the Board was not going to do it. But I am not allowed to wait. It seemed quite within the possibilities that a full detail of the facts might furnish me a chance to make an apology to Mr. Ament—a chance which, I give you my word, I would have honestly used, and not abused. But it is no matter. If the Board is not troubled about the bulk of that lurid dispatch, why should I be? I answered the apology-urging letters of several clergymen with the information that I had written to China for the details, and said I thought it was the only sure way of getting into a position to do fair and full justice to all concerned; but a couple of them replied that it was not a matter that could wait. That is to say, groping your way out of a jungle in the dark with guesses and conjectures is better than a straight march out in the sunlight of fact. It seems a curious idea.

However, those two clergymen were in a large measure right—

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from their point of view and the Board's; which is, putting it in the form of a couple of questions:

1. *Did Dr. Ament collect the assessed damages and thirteen times over?* The answer is: He did *not.* He collected only *a third* over.

2. *Did he apply the third to the "propagation of the Gospel?"* The answer is this correction: He applied it to "church expenses." Part or all of the outlay, it appears, goes to "supporting widows and orphans." It may be that church expenses and supporting widows and orphans are not part of the machinery for propagating the Gospel. I supposed they were, but it isn't any matter; I prefer this phrasing; it is not so blunt as the other.

In the opinion of the two clergymen and of the Board, these two points are *the only important ones* in the whole C. E. dispatch.

I accept that. Therefore let us throw out the rest of the dispatch as being no longer a part of Dr. Ament's case.

EXHIBIT H.

The two clergymen and the Board are quite content with Dr. Ament's answers upon the two points.

Upon the first point of the two, my own viewpoint may be indicated by a question:

Did Dr. Ament collect from B, (whether by compulsion or simple demand), even so much as a penny in payment for murders or depredations, without knowing, beyond question, that B, and not another, committed the murders or the depredations?

Or, in other words:

Did Dr. Ament ever, by chance or through ignorance, make the innocent pay the debts of the guilty?

In the article entitled "To the Person Sitting in Darkness," I put forward that point in a paragraph taken from Macallum's (imaginary) "History":

EXHIBIT I.

"When a white Boxer kills a Pawnee and destroys his property the other Pawnees do not trouble to seek *him* out; they kill any white person that comes along; also, they make some white village pay deceased's heirs the full cash value of deceased, together with full cash value of the property destroyed; they also make the village pay, in addition, *thirteen times** the value of that property into a fund for the dissemination of the Pawnee religion, which they regard as the best of all religions for the softening and humanizing of the heart of man. It is their idea that it is only fair and right *that the innocent should be made to suffer for the guilty,* and that it is better that ninety

*For "thirteen times" read "one-third."—M. T.

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and nine innocent should suffer than that one guilty person should escape."

We all know that Dr. Ament did not bring suspected persons into a duly organized court and try them by just and fair Christian and civilized methods, but proclaimed his "conditions," and collected damages from the innocent and the guilty alike, without any court proceedings at all.* That he himself, and not the villagers, made the "conditions," we learn from his letter of November 13th, already quoted from—the one in which he remarked that, upon *that* occasion, he brought no soldiers with him. The italics are mine:

"After our *conditions* were known many villagers came of their own accord and brought their money with them."

Not all, but "many." The Board really believes that those hunted and harried paupers out there were not only willing to strip themselves to pay Boxer damages, whether they owed them or not, but were sentimentally eager to do it. Mr. Ament says, in his letter: "The villagers were extremely grateful because I brought no foreign soldiers, and were glad to settle on the terms proposed." Some of those people know more about theology than they do about human nature. I do not remember encountering even a Christian who was "glad" to pay money he did not owe; and as for a Chinaman doing it, why, dear me, the thing is unthinkable. We have all seen Chinamen, many Chinamen, but not that kind. It is a new kind: an invention of the Board—and "soldiers."

CONCERNING THE COLLECTIONS.

What was the "one-third extra"? Money due? No. Was it a theft, then? Putting aside the "one-third extra," what was the *remainder* of the exacted indemnity, if collected from persons not *known* to owe it, and without Christian and civilized forms of procedure? Was *it* theft, was it robbery? In America it would be that; in Christian Europe it would be that. I have great confidence in Dr. Smith's judgment concerning this detail, and he calls it "theft and extortion"—even in China; for he was talking about the "thirteen times" at the time that he gave it that strong

*In civilized countries, if a mob destroy property in a town, the damage is paid out of the town treasury, and no tax-payer suffers a disproportionate share of the burden; the mayor is not privileged to distribute the burden according to his private notions, sparing himself and his friends, and fleecing persons he holds a spite against—as in the Orient—and the citizen who is too poor to be a tax-payer pays no part of the fine at all.

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name.* It is his idea that, when you make guilty and innocent villagers pay the appraised damages, and then make them pay thirteen times that, besides, the *thirteen* stand for "theft and extortion."

Then what does *one-third* extra stand for? Will he give that one-third a name? Is it Modified Theft and Extortion? Is that it? The girl who was rebuked for having borne an illegitimate child, excused herself by saying, "But it is such a *little* one."

When the "thirteen-times-extra" was alleged, it stood for theft and extortion, in Dr. Smith's eyes, and he was shocked. But when Dr. Ament showed that he had taken only a *third* extra, instead of thirteen-fold, Dr. Smith was relieved, content, happy. I declare I cannot imagine why. That editor—quoted at the head of this article—was happy about it, too. I cannot think why. He thought I ought to "make for the amen corner and formulate a prompt apology." To whom, and for what? It is too deep for me.

To Dr. Smith, the "thirteen-fold-extra" clearly stood for "theft and extortion," and he was right, distinctly right, indisputably right. He manifestly thinks that when it got scaled away down to a mere "one-third," a little thing like that was something other than "theft and extortion." Why? Only the Board knows! I will try to explain this difficult problem, so that the Board can get an idea of it. If a pauper owes me a dollar, and I catch him unprotected and make him pay me fourteen dollars, thirteen of it is "theft and extortion"; if I make him pay only a dollar and thirty-three and a third cents, the thirty-three and a third cents are "theft and extortion" just the same. I will put it in another way, still simpler. If a man owes me one dog—any kind of a dog, the breed is of no consequence—and I—— But let it go; the Board would never understand it. It *can't* understand these involved and difficult things.

But *if* the Board could understand, then I could furnish some more instruction—which is this. The one-third, obtained by "theft and extortion," is *tainted money,* and cannot be purified even by defraying "church expenses" and "supporting widows and

*In his Open Letter, Dr. Smith cites Dr. Ament's letter of November 13th, which contains an account of Dr. Ament's collecting-tour; then Dr. Smith makes this comment: "Nothing is said of securing 'thirteen times' the amount of the losses." Further down, Dr. Smith quotes praises of Dr. Ament and his work (from a letter of the Rev. Dr. Sheffield), and adds this comment: "Dr. Sheffield is not accustomed to speak thus in praise of thieves, or extortioners, or braggarts." The reference is to the "thirteen-times" extra-tax.

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orphans" with it. It has to be restored to the people it was taken from.

Also, there is another view of these things. By our Christian code of morals and law, the *whole* $1.33 1-3, if taken from a man not formally *proven* to have committed the damage the dollar represents, is "theft and extortion." It cannot be honestly used for any purpose at all. It must be handed back to the man it was taken from.

Is there no way, then, to justify these thefts and extortions and make them clean and fair and honorable? Yes, there is. It can be done; it has been done; it continues to be done—by revising the Ten Commandments and bringing them down to date: for use in pagan lands. For example:

Thou shall not steal—except when it is the custom of the country.

This way out is recognized and *approved* by all the best authorities, including the Board. I will cite witnesses.

The newspaper cutting, above: "Dr. Ament declares that all the collections which he made were approved by the *Chinese* officials." The editor is satisfied.

Dr. Ament's cable to Dr. Smith: "All collections received approval *Chinese* officials." Dr. Ament is satisfied.

Letters from eight clergymen—all to the same effect: Dr. Ament merely did as the *Chinese* do. So they are satisfied.

Mr. Ward, of the Independent.

The Rev. Dr. Washington Gladden.

I have mislaid the letters of these gentlemen and cannot quote their words, but they are of the satisfied.

The Rev. Dr. Smith, in His Open Letter, published in the *Tribune*: "The whole procedure (Dr. Ament's), is in accordance with a custom among the *Chinese,* of holding a village responsible for wrongs suffered in that village, and especially making the head man of the village accountable for wrongs committed there." Dr. Smith is satisfied. Which means that the Board is satisfied.

The "head man"! Why, then, this poor rascal, innocent or guilty, must pay the whole bill, if he cannot squeeze it out of his poor-devil neighbors. But, indeed, he can be depended upon to try, even to the skinning them of their last brass farthing, their last rag of clothing, their last ounce of food. He can be depended upon to get the indemnity out of them, though it cost stripes and blows, blood, tears and flesh.

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THE TALE OF THE KING AND HIS TREASURER.

How strange and remote and romantic and Oriental and Arabian-Nighty it all seems—and is. It brings back the old forgotten tales, and we hear the King say to his Treasurer:

"Bring me 30,000 gold tomauns."

"Allah preserve us, Sire! the treasury is empty."

"Do you hear? Bring the money—in ten days. Else, send me your head in a basket."

"I hear and obey."

The Treasurer summons the head men of a hundred villages, and says to one:

"Bring me a hundred gold tomauns." To another, "Bring me five hundred;" to another, "Bring a thousand. In ten days. Your head is the forfeit."

"Your slaves kiss your feet! Ah, high and mighty lord, be merciful to our hard pressed villagers: they are poor, they are naked, they starve; oh, these impossible sums! even the half——"

"Go! Grind it out of them, crush it out of them, turn the blood of the fathers, the tears of the mothers, the milk of the babes to money—or take the consequences. Have you heard?"

"His will be done, Who is the Fount of love and mercy and compassion, Who layeth this heavy burden upon us by the hand of His anointed servants—blessed be His holy Name! The father shall bleed, the mother shall faint for hunger, the babe shall perish at the dry breast. The chosen of God have commanded: it shall be as they say."

I am not meaning to object to the substitution of pagan customs for Christian, here and there and now and then, when the Christian ones are inconvenient. No; I like it and admire it. I do it myself. And I admire the alertness of the Board in watching out for chances to trade Board morals for Chinese morals, and get the best of the swap; for I cannot endure those people, they are yellow, and I have never considered yellow becoming. I have always been like the Board—perfectly well-meaning, but destitute of the Moral Sense. Now, one of the main reasons why it is so hard to make the Board understand that there is no moral difference between a big filch and a little filch, but only a legal one, is that vacancy in its make-up. Morally, there are no degrees in stealing. The Commandment merely says, "Thou shalt not *steal*," and stops there. It doesn't recog-

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nize any difference between stealing a third and stealing thirteenfold. If I could think of a way to put it before the Board in such a plain and—

THE WATERMELONS.

I have it, now. Many years ago, when I was studying for the gallows, I had a dear comrade, a youth who was not in my line, but still a thoroughly good fellow, though devious. He was preparing to qualify for a place on the Board, for there was going to be a vacancy by superannuation in about five years. This was down South, in the slavery days. It was the nature of the negro then, as now, to steal watermelons. They stole three of the melons of an adoptive brother of mine, the only good ones he had. I suspected three of a neighbor's negroes, but there was no proof: and, besides, the watermelons in those negroes' private patches were all green and small, and not up to indemnity standard. But in the private patches of three other negroes there was a number of competent melons. I consulted with my comrade, the understudy of the Board. He said that if I would approve his arrangements, he would arrange. I said, "Consider me the Board; I approve: arrange." So he took a gun, and went and collected three large melons for my brother-on-the-half-shell, and one over. I was greatly pleased, and asked:

"Who gets the extra one?"

"Widows and orphans."

"A good idea, too. Why didn't you take thirteen?"

"It would have been wrong; a crime, in fact—Theft and Extortion."

"What is the one-third extra—the odd melon—the same?"

It caused him to reflect. But there was no result.

The justice of the peace was a stern man. On the trial, he found fault with the scheme, and required us to explain upon what we based our strange conduct—as he called it. The understudy said:

"On the custom of the niggers. They all do it."

The justice forgot his dignity, and descended to sarcasm:

"Custom of the niggers! Are our morals so inadequate that we have to borrow of niggers?" Then he said to the jury: "Three melons were owing; they were collected from persons not proven to owe them; this is theft. They were collected by compulsion; this is extortion. A melon was added—for the widows

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and orphans. It was owed by no one. It is another theft, another extortion. Return it whence it came, with the others. It is not permissible, here, to apply to any object goods dishonestly obtained—not even to the feeding of widows and orphans, for that would be to put a shame upon charity and dishonor it."

He said it in open court, before everybody, and to me it did not seem very kind.

A clergyman, in a letter to me, reminds me, with a touch of reproach, that "many of the missionaries are good men, kind-hearted, earnest, devoted to their work." Certainly they are. No one is disputing it. Instead of "many," he could have said "almost all," and still said the truth, no doubt. I know many missionaries; I have met them all about the globe, and have known only one or two who could not fill that bill and answer to that description. "Almost all" comes near to being a proportion and a description applicable also to lawyers, authors, editors, merchants, manufacturers—in fact to most guilds and vocations. Without a doubt, Dr. Ament did what he believed to be right, and I concede that when a man is doing what he believes to be right, there is argument on his side. I differ with Dr. Ament, but that is only because he got his training from the Board and I got mine outside. Neither of us is responsible, altogether.

RECAPITULATION.

But there is no need to sum up. Mr. Ament has acknowledged the "one-third extra"—no other witness is necessary. The Rev. Dr. Smith has carefully considered the act and labeled it with a stern name, and his verdict seems to have no flaw in it. The morals of the act are Chinese, but are approved by the Board, and by some of the clergy and some of the newspapers, as being a valuable improvement upon Christian ones—which leaves me with a closed mouth, though with a pain in my heart.

IS THE AMERICAN BOARD ON TRIAL?

Do I think that Dr. Ament and certain of his fellow missionaries are as bad as their conduct? No, I do not. They are the product of their training; and now that I understand the whole case, and where they got their ideals, and that they are merely subordinates and subject to authority, I comprehend that they are rather accessories than principals, and that their acts only show faulty heads curiously trained, not bad hearts. Mainly, as it seems to me, it is the American Board that is on trial. And

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again, it is a case of the head, not of the heart. That it has a heart which has never harbored an evil intention, no one will deny, no one will question; the Board's history can silence any challenge on that score. The Board's heart is not in court: it is its head that is on trial.

It is a sufficiently strange head. Its ways baffle comprehension; its ideas are like no one else's; its methods are novelties to the practical world; its judgments are surprises. When one thinks it is going to speak and must speak, it is silent; when one thinks it ought to be silent and must be silent, it speaks. Put your finger where you think it ought to be, it is not there; put it where you think it ought not to be, there you find it.

When its servant in China seemed to be charging himself with amazing things, in a reputable journal,—in a dispatch which was copied into many other papers—the Board was as silent about it as any dead man could have been who was informed that his house was burning over his head. An exchange of cablegrams could have enabled it, within two days, to prove to the world—possibly—that the damaging dispatch had not proceeded from the mouth of its servant; yet it sat silent and asked no questions about the matter.

It was silent during thirty-eight days. Then the dispatch came into prominence again. It chanced that I was the occasion of it. A break in the stillness followed. In what form? An exchange of cablegrams, resulting in proof that the damaging dispatch had not been authorized? No, in the form of an Open Letter by the Corresponding Secretary of the American Board, the Rev. Dr. Smith, in which it was *argued* that Dr. Ament could not have said and done the things set forth in the dispatch.

Surely, this was bad politics. A repudiating telegram would have been worth more than a library of argument.

An extension of the silence would have been better than the Open Letter, I think. I thought so at the time. It seemed to me that mistakes enough had been made and harm enough done. I thought it questionable policy to publish the Letter, for I "did not think it likely that Dr. Ament would disown the dispatch," and I telegraphed that to the Rev. Dr. Smith. Personally, I had nothing against Dr. Ament, and that is my attitude yet.

Once more it was a good time for an extension of the silence. But no; the Board has its own ways, and one of them is to do the

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unwise thing, when occasion offers. After having waited fifty-six days, it cabled to Dr. Ament. No one can divine why it did so then, instead of fifty-six days earlier.* It got a fatal reply—and was not aware of it. That was that curious confession about the "one-third extra"; its application, not to the "propagation of the Gospel," but only to "church expenses," support of widows and orphans; and, on top of this confession, that other strange one revealing the dizzying fact that our missionaries, who went to China to teach Christian morals and justice, had adopted pagan morals and justice in their place. *That cablegram was dynamite.*

It seems odd that the Board did not see that that revelation made the case far worse than it was before; for there was a saving doubt, before—a doubt which was a Gibraltar for strength, and should have been carefully left undisturbed. Why did the Board allow that revelation to get into print? Why did the Board not suppress it and keep still? But no; in the Board's opinion, this was once more the time for speech. Hence Dr. Smith's latest letter to me, suggesting that I speak also—a letter which is a good enough letter, barring its nine defects, but is another evidence that the Board's head is not as good as its heart.

A missionary is a man who is pretty nearly all heart, else he would not be in a calling which requires of him such large sacrifices of one kind and another. He is made up of faith, zeal, courage, sentiment, emotion, enthusiasm; and so he is a mixture of poet, devotee and knight-errant. He exiles himself from home and friends and the scenes and associations that are dearest to him; patiently endures discomforts, privations, discouragements; goes with good pluck into dangers which he knows may cost him his life; and, when he must suffer death, willingly makes that supreme sacrifice for his cause.

Sometimes the head-piece of that kind of a man can be of an inferior sort, and errors of judgment can result—as we have seen. Then, for his protection, as it seems to me, he ought to have at his back a Board able to know a blunder when it sees one, and prompt to bring him back upon his right course when he strays from it. That is to say, I think the captain of a ship ought to understand navigation. Whether he does or not, he will have to take a captain's share of the blame, if the crew bring the vessel to grief.

MARK TWAIN.

*The cablegram went on the day (Feb. 18) that Mr. George Lynch's account of the looting was published. See "Exhibit B." It seems a pity it did not inquire about the looting and get it denied.

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CUBA AND CONGRESS.

BY ALBERT J. BEVERIDGE, UNITED STATES SENATOR FROM INDIANA.

To appreciate the moderation and restraint of the Cuban legislation of Congress, it is necessary to consider the previously defined national policy of the United States respecting Cuba. To this national policy American statesmen of all political parties have given continuous expression. Jefferson led off, in 1808, by deprecating the acquisition of Cuba by any other power than Spain. In 1809, he was discussing whether Napoleon would "consent to our receiving Cuba into our nation." The thought steadily grew with him until, in 1823, he announced the settled conviction of the country which every American statesman has followed. He said:

"I have ever looked on Cuba as the most interesting addition which could ever be made to our system of states. The control which, with Florida Point, this island would give us over the Gulf of Mexico, and the countries and isthmus bordering on it, would fill up the measure of our political well-being. Her addition to our confederacy is exactly what is wanting to advance our power as a nation to the point of its utmost interest."

Monroe suggested the ownership of Cuba as a military necessity. The acquisition of Cuba was the chief aim of Pierce's foreign policy. The main effort of Polk's administration was to purchase this island. The movement was confined to no one political party. John Quincy Adams, in a formal letter, as Secretary of State, said, in 1823, of Cuba:

"Its commanding position with reference to the Gulf of Mexico and the West India seas, the character of its population, its situation midway between our southern coast and the island of St. Domingo, its safe and capacious harbor of Havana, fronting a long line of our shores destitute of the same advantage, the nature of its products and of its wants, furnishing the supplies and needing the returns of a commerce immensely profitable and mutually beneficial—give it an importance in the sum of our national interests with which that of no other foreign territory can be compared and little inferior to that

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which binds the different members of this Union together. Such, indeed, are, between the interests of that island and of this country, the geographical, commercial, moral and political relations formed by nature, gathering in the process of time, and even now (1823) verging to maturity, that, looking forward to the probable course of events, for the short period of half a century, it is scarcely possible to resist the conviction that the annexation of Cuba to our federal Republic will be indispensable to the continuance and integrity of the Union itself."

Mr. Adams then showed that, at that particular time, we were not prepared for this event, but added:

"If an apple, severed by the tempest from its native tree, cannot but fall to the ground, Cuba, forcibly disjointed from its own unnatural connection with Spain and incapable of self-support, can gravitate only towards the North American Union, which by the same law of nature cannot cast her from its bosom."

Henry Clay, as Secretary of State, in 1825, nervously anxious as he then was, for political reasons, to state his views mildly, nevertheless said in a formal letter, as Secretary of State:

"If the war should continue between Spain and the new republics, and those islands (Cuba and Porto Rico) should become the object and theatre of it, their fortunes have such a connection with the prosperity of the United States that they could not be indifferent spectators; and the possible contingencies of such a protracted war might bring upon the government of the United States duties and obligations the performance of which, however painful it should be, they might not be at liberty to decline."

Even Mr. Van Buren, that fox of American statesmanship, who never said anything that was not susceptible of different meanings, said, as Secretary of State, in 1829:

"The government of the United States has always looked with the deepest interest upon the fate of those islands, but particularly upon Cuba. Its geographical position, which places it almost in sight of our southern shores, and, as it were, gives it command of the Gulf of Mexico and the West India seas, its safe and capacious harbors, its rich productions, the exchange of which for our surplus agricultural products and manufactures constitutes one of the most extensive and valuable branches of our foreign trade, render it of the utmost importance to the United States that no change should take place in its condition which might injuriously affect our political and commercial standing in that quarter."

In 1848, Buchanan, in a formal letter, as Secretary of State, said:

"If Cuba were annexed to the United States we would not only be relieved from the apprehensions which we can never cease to feel for our own safety and the security of our commerce, whilst it shall remain in its present condition, but human foresight cannot anticipate the beneficial consequences which would result to every portion of our Union. This can never become a local question. With suitable fortification at the Tortugas, and in possession of the strongly fortified harbor of Havana as a naval station on the opposite coast of Cuba,

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we could command the outlet of the Gulf of Mexico, between the peninsula of Florida and that island. This would afford ample security both to the foreign and coasting trade of the Western and Southern states, which seek a market for their surplus productions through the ports of the Gulf. Under the government of the United States, Cuba would become the richest and most fertile island of the same extent throughout the world."

In 1859, the Committee on Foreign Relations of the United States Senate reported favorably a bill "to facilitate the acquisition of the Island of Cuba," in which report the Committee said:

"The ultimate acquisition of Cuba may be considered a fixed purpose of the United States—a purpose resulting from political and geographical necessities, which have been recognized by all parties and all administrations, and in regard to which the popular voice has been expressed with a unanimity unsurpassed on any question of national policy that has heretofore engaged the public mind. The purchase and annexation of Louisiana led, as a necessary corollary, to that of Florida, and both point with unerring certainty to the acquisition of Cuba."

And, further on, in considering the question of constitutional power, the Committee quoted the famous words of Thomas Jefferson:

"I am persuaded that no constitution was ever before so well calculated as ours for extensive empire and self-government."

The slavery question was at this juncture thrust into this national movement; but even that was not sufficient to make the minority of the Committee, headed by Mr. Seward, protest against the acquisition of Cuba. That was the most remarkable circumstance in this whole discussion; for, if anything could have induced Mr. Seward and the abolitionists to attack the proposition, its advocacy by the slave power would have done it. But, in expressing the views of the minority of the Committee, Mr. Seward merely reported a short bill as a substitute for the majority bill, directing the President:

"To communicate to the Senate the condition of the relations which shall then (next session) be subsisting between the United States and Spain, and of any negotiations that may then be pending for the cession of Cuba to the United States, together with such statements of the conditions of the treasury, and also of the effective condition of the army and navy of the United States, as may enable Congress to judge whether at that time it will be necessary to adopt any extraordinary measures to maintain the rights and promote the interests of the United States, connected with or growing out of their relations to Spain."

In the same year, Judah P. Benjamin demonstrated that the United States must possess Cuba as a measure of safety. He said:

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"Her harbors not only furnish points of rendezvous for hostile fleets, but secure harbors of refuge in which they could refit and repair, and prepare themselves for fresh attacks on our unprotected coasts. It was those harbors that afforded refuge for the British fleet after its descent on New Orleans; and in them did the French fleet refit after its bombardment of the castle of San Juan d'Ulloa. In the event of a rupture with Great Britain, this would be, in her possession, a tremendous point of vantage for attack. It is for these reasons that the instincts of the American people have already taught them that we shall ever be insecure against hostile attack until this important geographical and military position is placed under our protection and control."

Benjamin was a pro-slavery man, but Edward Everett was an anti-slavery man; and yet, as Secretary of State, in a formal letter in his official capacity, Everett said:

"Cuba lies at our doors. It commands the approaches to the Gulf of Mexico, which washes the shores of five of our states. It bars the entrance to that great river which drains all of the North American continent. Geographically and commercially, Cuba would in our hands be an extremely valuable possession. Under certain contingencies it might be almost essential to our safety."

But he says that, for "domestic reasons (slavery)," the acquisition of Cuba "at the present time" (1852) was impracticable.

Stephen A. Douglas, Democrat, was earnestly for annexation in 1851; and Clayton, Whig, spoke of the future annexation of Cuba as a certainty. William L. Marcy believed that if he could secure the acquisition of Cuba while Secretary of State, that single stroke would make him President. And the effort of the life of the "great Secretary" was directed to this end.

The tremendous internal questions following the Civil War diverted the attention of the American people, for almost a generation, from their national policy of expansion; and, for thirty years, there was a dearth of expression upon the subject. But the instinctive purpose of the people asserted itself as soon as conditions within the present boundaries of the Republic had become normal. Accordingly, during the last ten years, expressions similar to the above, and directed to expansion generally, have begun to come again from men of weight and judgment, growing in volume and vigor up to the present hour. With these the public is so familiar that space cannot be spared to quote them.

The fact back of these expressions and giving them meaning and vitality is, that they were the voice of the American people. This whole historic movement has been the expression of the purpose of the people, and not the plan of politicians. As

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early as 1739, the American colonists petitioned England to let them capture Cuba, which they called in their petition, "that key to all America." In 1762, when the English captured Havana, they did it with the aid of American troops; and the event caused great rejoicing throughout the American colonies, the greatest public demonstration of all being held by the people of Boston. During our revolutionary war, our ships and fleets found harbor and refuge in Cuba. From the beginning, it has been with the greatest difficulty that our Presidents have held our impatient people in leash. Taylor and Fillmore issued proclamations forbidding American expeditions against Cuba. DeBow in his *Commercial Review,* at the period of its greatest influence, declared that "public opinion is uniform and unanimous that the safety and security of the United States demand the annexation of Cuba." And yet DeBow himself was hostile to the proposition. He was merely recording a fact as an editorial observer. Democratic newspapers in the South and Whig newspapers in the North, agreeing on nothing else, agreed upon this. The Whig *New York Times,* in an editorial in 1852, criticised Fillmore for not acquiring Cuba, and the *New York Tribune* quoted the *Times* editorial on November 25th, 1852. The State of Kentucky even went so far as to present to the Senate a formal petition praying for the acquisition of Cuba.

That the consummation of this national policy of the American people was inevitable, has been the uniform opinion of political thinkers of foreign countries—even of Spain itself. Speaking of 1854, Rhodes, in his "History of the United States," says: "The most sensible men of Spain were convinced that Cuba must sooner or later belong to the United States." In 1887, Froude, that keenest observer of all English historians, called America "the residuary legatee of all the West Indies."

Such was the current of American opinion and policy, and such was the view of the world, down to the moment when the Teller resolution was attached to the declaration of Congress demanding that Spain withdraw from Cuba. That resolution is as follows:

> "That the United States hereby disclaims any disposition or intention to exercise sovereignty, jurisdiction or control over said island except for the pacification thereof, and asserts its determination, when that is accomplished, to leave the government and control of the island to its people."

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This resolution was reported to the Senate by the committee immediately before a vote was taken on the declaration to which it was attached, and was adopted as a part thereof without discussion.

If it means that the United States should utterly withdraw from Cuba, leaving that people, without aid, guidance or restraint, to work their ruin and our injury, this resolution is destructive of the unanimous conclusion of American statesmanship and public opinion from before the foundation of our government. It cannot mean such withdrawal, therefore, since it is a rule of interpretation, familiar to courts, that no law must be construed as repealing all former laws on the same subject if it admits of a meaning in harmony with them. And it is not within rational belief that Congress intended such a sudden reversal of the unbroken line of expressions of American purpose on this subject.

If the Teller resolution means the unconditional abandonment of the Cuban people by the United States, without having taken measures to secure a stable government, it was intended to prevent Cuban liberty and retard Cuban progress; for that such would be the result of such entire American desertion of Cuba I shall presently demonstrate. Such a meaning, therefore, cannot be attributed to Congress, whose purpose in going to war with Spain was to aid and not to injure the Cuban people.

If this resolution means that we were to cast Cuba adrift, a derelict on our very coasts, it was intended to impair the interests, paralyze the Cuban commerce and imperil the safety of the United States; for that such would be the result is known of all men. But a purpose so unpatriotic we dare not attribute to Congress, which, while inspired by an earnest friendship for every other people, owes its first and highest duty to the American people.

But if such be the meaning of this resolution, let us frankly admit that it was a mistake; and between the consummation of such a mistake with its ruinous consequences, on the one hand, and the frank and brave correction of it by the establishment and protection of liberty, order, rights and law, on the other hand, there is no choice. In individual morals and in national statesmanship the latter is the only course possible.

But does not a study of the whole subject give this resolution

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a different meaning? Must it not be read in the light of our entire history, of which it is a part? Must it not be interpreted by the geographical, industrial, social and human conditions inherent in the situation? Such construction is natural, customary, essential. No act of American statesmanship stands alone. All that is enduring is the result of growth and outgrowth. Submitted to these usual and ordinary principles of interpretation, construed by these admitted standards of wisdom and justice, the Teller resolution does not deny, but demands, that the United States shall take measures to insure, on the one hand, the realities and not the mockery of liberty to the Cuban people and to insure, on the other hand, the welfare of the American people. Interpreted by these principles and measured by these standards, this resolution requires that the United States shall see to it that a stable Cuban government is established and maintained, and that the island is protected from all foreign interference or attack. Is any other interpretation sane? Would not any court, construing the expression of the purpose of an individual, consider the whole case of which that expression is a part? And can this result in injury to Cuba? Who so concerned as the United States that Cuba shall have law, order, prosperity and peace within and be secure from molestation from without? Who so interested as Cuba in the safety of the United States, upon whose markets, investments and active friendship Cuba's welfare depends? The resolution cannot be interpreted in hostility to the American people who made possible a Cuban government of any kind. And to construe it as requiring us to abandon the Cuban people to their fate is to do them irreparable wrong. Such construction would annul the resolution's very letter and defeat its expressed purpose. Considered even as an isolated statement, such construction is impossible; impossible, considered as a part of the unbroken current of American statesmanship; impossible, considered as a rule of procedure by which Congress was to solve the practical problem confronting it.

What was that problem? The facts define it.

Cuba was not able to expel Spain. Not all the Cuban people wanted Spain expelled. The United States ejected Spanish government from that island. In doing this, the United States expended many scores of millions of dollars. Our soldiers gladly gave their lives. And when the Spanish flag was hauled down

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and the American flag had taken its place, the Administration found property destroyed, roads few and poor, school-houses scanty and abandoned. It found a postal service hardly superior to that of Spain a hundred years ago. It found an appalling illiteracy. It found cities without sanitation. It found poverty, starvation, demoralization and all but anarchy. And yet these conditions were very little inferior to those which existed before the insurrection of the Cubans against Spanish authority. No more instructive study can be found than that of the sanitary situation reported in the American census of the island for 1899.

A separate article might be devoted to a statement of the vital statistics of Cuba. One or two facts may serve as a suggestive searchlight in passing. The population of the island is 1,572,797. Of this population, 1,108,709 are single, 246,357 are married, and 131,732 are living together by mutual consent. Of this population, 1,067,354 are whites and 505,443 are colored. Of the whites, almost all are of Spanish descent. Of these more than one million whites, fifty per cent. can neither read nor write; and of the more than half a million colored, more than seventy per cent. can neither read nor write. This is the statement of our census, taken by Cuban collectors. A gentleman of unquestioned reliability, and of thorough personal familiarity with the Cuban people, informs me that at least seventy per cent. of the whites and more than ninety per cent. of the colored population can neither read nor write. And yet, under our military administration order has been restored and maintained, property and life protected, and sanitary revolution has been effected in Havana, Santiago and the other considerable cities of the island. An excellent postal service has been established, and is now in operation in every province. Under the Spanish régime, at its best estate, scarcely 10,000 children were in school. At the time we took possession, there were less than 4,000 children in school. The education was slothful, fragmentary, unscientific. To-day, there are more than 150,000 Cuban children in school, and education is systematized and conducted on approved and modern principles.

And these items are only the landmarks of what has really been accomplished. All this, too, has been done by American authority in two years' time. It is a record of administrative capacity to which history shows no parallel. Of the remarkable

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achievements of the present Administration, not one is more brilliant than its conduct of affairs in the island of Cuba.

How best to preserve and continue this progress of Cuba; how, at the same time, to secure the safety and protect the interests of the United States; how to interpret the historic purpose of the American people, who had sacrificed so much treasure and blood for the Cuban people; and how to act so that the Teller resolution would not defeat itself, and so that a steady government might exist in Cuba, were the profound, complex and most delicate questions which Congress was called upon to answer, and which the Cuban Committee of the United States Senate, with Orville H. Platt, of Connecticut, at its head, answered so well in the Cuban Amendment to the Army Bill.

Let us consider this amendment.

That no foreign power shall establish any but trade relations with Cuba is necessary to both Cuba and the United States. It is intolerable that any foreign power shall obtain jurisdiction over an inch of Cuban soil. It is intolerable even to think of the government of Cuba giving to Germany or England or France or any other great power, a naval station. And yet, without restriction, the Cuban government could give any foreign power rights amounting to that, and keep within the Monroe Doctrine. Think of the consequences! From Tortugas to Havana is only ninety miles; from Cuba to Yucatan is little more than one hundred miles. A foreign squadron, with naval rendezvous in Havana harbor and a small patrol along the difficult Yucatan passage, could blockade the Gulf of Mexico, the Isthmian canal, the Mississippi River, and absolutely cut off our immense foreign commerce from and to our Gulf and Mississippi River ports, and our immeasurably greater coastwise trade, much more completely than the same naval strength could blockade the harbor of New York. Accordingly, the Cuban Amendment to the Army Bill provides:

> "That the government of Cuba shall never enter into any treaty or other compact with any foreign Power or Powers which will impair or tend to impair the independence of Cuba, nor in any manner authorize or permit any foreign Power or Powers to obtain by colonization or for military or naval purposes, or otherwise, lodgment in or control over any portion of said island."

But it is also necessary that the United States shall actually *possess* such naval stations along the Cuban coasts as

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may be necessary to our national defence and to the defence of Cuba. The Cuban people, numbering only a million and a half, unassisted by us, could not properly fortify or equip their harbors. Certainly they could not build a fleet necessary to the island's protection; and if they could, such a fleet, in certain contingencies apparent to all men, might be a menace to the American government. But with the United States in possession of the necessary naval stations, the independence of the island and its people from every foreign Power and every combination of foreign Powers is assured, and the American Republic secured from attack in the Gulf, at the mouth of the Mississippi. Accordingly the Cuban Amendment to the Army Bill provides:

"That to enable the United States to maintain the independence of Cuba and to protect the people thereof, as well as for its own defense, the Government of Cuba will sell or lease to the United States lands necessary for coaling or naval stations at certain specified points, to be agreed upon with the President of the United States."

Even this is not broad enough for the protection of the Cuban people and of American interests and safety. A familiar method by which a Power secures practical control of a desirable point inhabited by a weak people, is to seize that people's ports in order to collect the revenues for payment of debt. The first necessity of a new government is money. Its earliest condition is financial obligation. Without restriction and guidance by a friendly and experienced government whose interests are the interests of the Cuban people, it was inevitable that the new and experimental government of the island would contract debts beyond the ability of the Cuban people to pay. This has been the experience of nearly all new governments. If such a debt were contracted in England or Germany or France, it was inevitable that upon default of payment either of those Powers would seize the revenues of the island to indemnify their citizens against loss. And the United States could not prevent this, unless the United States would guarantee such debt, or go to war with the creditor Power to prevent its just collection. Every one of these contingencies is inconsistent with American safety and interests, and even more inconsistent with the interests, liberty and independence of the Cuban people. Therefore the Cuban Amendment to the Army Bill provides:

"That said government (Cuba) shall not assume or contract any public debt to pay the interest upon which, and to make reasonable

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sinking-fund provision for the ultimate discharge of which, the ordinary revenues of the island, after defraying the current expenses of government, shall be inadequate."

It will be helpful to recall that the debt Spain contracted for Cuba was $400,000,000; and this debt the Cuban Amendment prevents Cuba from ever paying or being compelled to pay. The bonds issued by the revolutionary government in the insurrection preceding the last, and still held somewhere by some one, are supposed to reach into the hundreds of millions. The amount of bonds issued by the last insurrectionary government, held by persons in Cuba and the United States, is unknown; but I have heard it estimated at from $100,000 to $300,000,000. No accurate information can be had concerning the quantity of these bonds, or of the bonds of the former insurrectionary government. What part, if any, they play at present can only be surmised. It is doubtful if they affect the question; but they are useful as indicating the financial certainties of an unrestrained Cuban government.

Even with all the above, the welfare of the Cuban people was still open to attack from another enemy and at their weakest point. That point was within, and that enemy themselves. The right of the United States to intervene for the maintenance of the realities of Cuban freedom is the measure of all measures most in the interests of the Cuban people. Would it have been wise and just to neglect this most important and immediate obligation of all? If it is our business to see that the Cubans are not destroyed by any foreign Power, is it not our duty to see that they are not destroyed by themselves? It was a far-seeing benevolence which inspired Congress to provide that we may preserve the Cuban government from the hands of warring factions, and protect the individual liberty, the property and the rights of Cuban citizens. Congress actually bestowed upon Cuba the same guaranty of social order and governmental stability, which our Constitution guarantees to every one of the States of the Union. This great provision of the Cuban Amendment is as follows:

"That the Government of Cuba consents that the United States may exercise the right to intervene for the preservation of Cuban independence, the maintenance of a government adequate for the protection of life, property and individual liberty, and for discharging the obligations with respect to Cuba imposed by the treaty of Paris on the United States, now to be assumed and undertaken by the Government of Cuba."

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The sanitation of Cuba was the pressing problem which confronted the Administration upon our occupation of the island, and it is the immediate question which will confront the island's new government. In this vital business even the best-equipped Cubans are unschooled. And yet, upon proper sanitation depends the security of the Cuban people from pestilence. Upon it depends the safety of our own people from yellow-fever. New Orleans, Mobile, Tampa, all our Southern ports, have time and again been infected, and the disease has spread northward even to the Ohio. It is a subject which admitted and admits of no trifling. It is a business to be dealt with practically and on the instant. To enthrone a plague in a permanent home at the very gates of the Republic would have been an act which a volume of resolutions, no matter how interpreted, never could have excused. And Congress never wrought more wisely than when it provided in the Cuban Amendment:

"That the Government of Cuba will execute, and as far as necessary extend, the plans already devised, or other plans to be mutually agreed upon, for the sanitation of the cities of the island, to the end that a recurrence of epidemic and infectious diseases may be prevented, thereby assuring protection to the people and commerce of Cuba, as well as to the commerce of the Southern ports of the United States and the people residing therein."

That the sinister situations, which the Cuban Amendment are designed to prevent, would have been the results of a Cuban government unaided by the United States, is not an open question. Were no examples at hand, the character and history of the Cuban population itself proves this. But examples are at hand, and the men to whom the American people have intrusted their interests, and those of the Cuban people also, had to consider them.

These examples are the Central and South American Republics. Review them, taking the most advantageously situated first.

The Argentine Republic has the best climate, the most fertile soil and the richest resources of any portion of South America, and, with perhaps two exceptions, of the entire surface of the earth. It has a larger percentage of the solid, self-governing people of Europe than any other South American state. But its history bristles with revolt. There have been two revolutions within the last ten years. The killing and wounding of two or

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three thousand people in a political riot has occurred more than once. Schemes of financial idealists have been put into reckless practice. And yet the paper constitution of this republic is admirable, its schools numerous and its system of education, in theory, excellent.

To the north of the Argentine Republic lies Brazil. It became a republic in 1890 by bloodless revolution. In one year another revolution placed Peixoto in the President's chair; and, in less than two years more, another revolution, with the army supporting one side and the navy the other, continued until Admiral Benham, in command of the warships of the United States, threatened to fire on the insurgent navy in the harbor of Rio de Janeiro, thus ending the revolt. To the north of Brazil is Venezuela. From 1821, when independence was established, until 1870, Venezuela was in a state of almost continuous convulsion. And although peace has been more assured since that time, conditions have been anything but settled.

Of Colombia, from which Venezuela seceded after Bolivar had wrested independence from Spain, Hamblen Sears declares: "Its history to the present day has been one of the sudden rise of one or another of the popular leaders and his sudden fall." This, too, is largely true of Costa Rica, although the government of that state has been and is more stable than that of most Spanish-American republics.

Guatemala has been the red field of revolution and the hot bed of impracticable dreams. Of Honduras, Mr. Sears declares that, "like the other Central American republics, Honduras has been full of bloodshed and internal war." And he says that "Nicaragua, since 1860, has been most of the time in a state of war, interrupted with a change of presidents and numerous pronunciamentos." The history of Peru is the narrative of the rise and fall of dictators. Those who think that the ability of the Cuban people to frame a paper constitution with rapidity is an evidence of capacity for self-government, should remember that Peru surpasses Cuba as a rapid constitution-maker, having produced three separate constitutions in little more than ten years—one in 1828, one in 1833, and still another in 1839. And Mr. Sears despairingly writes: "The Salvadorian constitution has been so often changed that it is impossible to follow it." Until recent years, Chile has been in a state of recurrent revolution and violence.

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The condition of public order was illustrated by the attack upon the peaceful seamen of the American ship "Baltimore," still fresh in the memory of all. Not a single Spanish-American republic brightens this melancholy chronicle. Paraguay has been the scene of so much strife that its male population was at one time almost extinct. And Uruguay has been called the "Battle-field of the La Platta." All these countries show a languid progress toward settled conduct and self-restraint; but every forward step has been made at terrible cost—a cost which the aid and instruction of a friendly and experienced government might have saved to each, while accelerating that progress incalculably.

It must be repeated and again repeated that the paper constitutions of these countries have been fine examples of government by manuscript. This clarifying fact must not be forgotten by those who think that government by manuscript is equivalent to government by practice.

These political phenomena, common to all Spanish-American republics, whether in the tropic, semi-tropic or temperate zone, unvaried by climate or character of soil, and occurring in spite of excellent paper constitutions, are object-lessons which Congress dared not disregard. The character of the people of these republics is similar to that of the people of Cuba. Their racial origin is the same. Their history has been the same. Their tutelage under Spanish misrule has been the same. If there is any element of difference, that element is the greater proportion of blacks in Cuba. But history and contemporaneous fact do not justify the belief that this element, left to itself, increases the Cuban capacity for self-government, unaided, unguided and unrestrained.

Hayti, directly across from Cuba, is an instance. When under the rule of the French, all writers agree that, in spite of the drawback of slavery, Hayti was a prosperous colony. But from the time French power was overthrown its condition has been serious. A late writer says that "the atrocious administration of the government all through the Haytian history of this century has been unequalled in the world." On the contrary, British Guiana and British Honduras, with government administered by those who have a capacity for administration, have enjoyed a steadiness of order and a respect for law unequalled elsewhere in South or Central America; and New Mexico, with a

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population racially similar to those of Spanish America, has, under our administration, given us no trouble.

In dealing with Cuba, Congress could not ignore all this. Congress was compelled to consider the character and inexperience of Cuba's population; the history of the attempts of similar populations to govern themselves; the present condition of such experimental governments on the one hand, and the situation of the same populations, guided and restrained by the protection of an administrative people, on the other hand. Congress had to consider, too, the facts of the last two years—the expulsion of Spain from Cuba by American arms; the occupation of the island by American authority, law and order; the feeding of starving Cuban thousands with American bread; the establishment of Cuban schools, posts and sanitation upon modern methods by American administrators; the American purification of the Cuban customs service; the impartial American administration of Cuban justice; the protection of Cuban life and property by an American and Americanized police; the beginning of the development of the richest agricultural, mineral and timber resources on the face of the globe, under the faith of American protection; in a word, the American foundation in Cuba of civilization and of that liberty regulated by law which is the end and purpose of all free government. Congress had to consider, too, the American people. The sacrifices of the American people in blood and treasure and administration deserved such consideration. The geographical position of Cuba demanded it. The historian of a century hence would have properly denounced any action on the part of the American Congress which, by any possibility, might result in delivering this gateway to the American Mediterranean, to any and all Isthmian canals, to the mouth of that great artery of American commerce, the Mississippi River, to our whole gulf seaboard of 3,551 miles, over into the hands of those who, by treaty or purchase or any circumstances of peace or war, might possibly become our national foes.

Thus it appears that our Cuban legislation deprives Cuba of nothing that can help her, but bestows every benefit and erects every safeguard necessary to her settled and orderly self-government. It insures the development of the island's resources and the highest happiness possible to its people. Against the enemies of Cuba, foreign and domestic, is drawn the sword of

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the Great Republic; and under its protection the infant state may grow in peace and wax strong in a sure security. It is an inspiring scene with which the young century begins—the newest government of the world aided, guided and protected by the freest.

We are not depriving Cuba of liberty; we are helping her to liberty. Land owners are not to be robbed; they are to be protected. Cities are not to be sacked; they are to be defended. Equal rights are not to be violated; they are to be preserved and enforced. Free speech is not to be suppressed; it is to be fostered. Education is not to be destroyed; it is to be built up. But anarchy is to be kept down, foreign Powers kept at bay, and the elements that oppose Cuban progress held in check. All this is not the denial of liberty; it is the bestowal of liberty. For liberty cannot live without order and law.

The Cuban people and the American people are not and are not to be enemies or strangers. We are and are still more to be friends, "close friends," to use the President's felicitous phrase. We are not yet united into a single nation as the fathers hoped we should be; and such a union never may occur. But, while establishing Cuba's independent governmental identity, the United States has given her our permanent counsel, aid and comfort. Whether that relation shall develop into a still closer connection depends upon the Cuban people. It is a question which time alone can adequately answer. No wisdom equals the wisdom of events. And the Cuban legislation of Congress permits the wisdom of events to work out its results in its own time. Meanwhile, the relation established by that legislation is admirable, considered from the view-point of the present; and it may prove the permanent solution of this hitherto vexed and vexing problem. But whether this is the final development, or whether it is an epoch in an historical evolution, growing ever happier as it proceeds, the welfare of the Cuban people and the safety of the American people are secure.

ALBERT J. BEVERIDGE.

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SOME PERILS OF THE POSTAL SERVICE.—II.

BY HENRY A. CASTLE, AUDITOR FOR THE POST OFFICE DEPARTMENT.

A FEW of the defects and dangers connected with our postal system, as at present operated, were detailed in the last number of the REVIEW. It was pointed out that this branch of general governmental functions is exceptional and abnormal, by reason of the fact that it earns as well as disburses money, and that it is, therefore, susceptible to the perils that are incident to a business enterprise. The whole service is a study in State Socialism. Although the exercise of paternalism in this department of the government is apparently excusable, and, indeed, necessary to a symmetrical development of civilization, the difficulties in its administration and the serious defects in its accounting methods which have been set forth must strengthen the conviction of every thoughtful student that there is, somewhere, a limit beyond which this incursion into the domains of private business should be discouraged.

It is the main purpose of this article to consider two or three proposed additions to the existing system—to point out both the alleged benefits thereof and the manifest objections thereto. Some of these propositions are apparently very near realization, as they are the subjects of multitudes of bills introduced at every session of Congress, having behind them what appears to be an increasingly favorable public sentiment.

One of these propositions is the establishment of a postal savings-bank. Very active work is being done through the press and before Congressional committees in favor of this institution. The arguments presented are numerous and weighty. Among its advantages would be its absolute safety to depositors; the stimulus to thrifty habits it would give the working classes and young people; the release of an immense aggregate of unemployed

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money, now hidden away and dead for all commercial purposes; the encouragement of patriotism among all classes of citizens, since persons having a financial stake in the government, even to the extent of small deposits in a postal savings-bank, would naturally be alive to the necessity of maintaining its strength and permanence. If it is a duty of the government to stimulate thrift and patriotism, as well as to encourage education, these suggestions merit our approval, unless they are counterbalanced by adverse considerations of greater weight.

Some of the considerations adverse to the establishment of a postal savings-bank are (1.) the large number of additional employees which would be required in post offices to transact this new business; (2.) the vast and complicated work of keeping the additional accounts which would be thrown upon the Auditor's Bureau; and (3.) the difficulty of finding safe and profitable investment for the large sums that would speedily accumulate.

There is no apparent obligation resting on the government to take charge of the people's savings and handle them at a loss. Unless the business is self-sustaining, it will be another case of taxing one class for the benefit of another. We are already transmitting the people's money, through the issue of money orders, at a considerable annual loss. This should be a warning. If the savings-bank is to be made self-sustaining, some plan must be devised for investing the money of depositors to such advantage that the interest promised will be paid and, in addition thereto, sufficient revenue received to cover all the numerous and heavy expenses of handling, investing and reinvesting it, besides those of keeping the multitudinous accounts of all these transactions.

We may fairly assume, I think, that, if this business were entered upon with the promise of paying three per cent. annual interest to depositors, which is the lowest rate suggested, there would accumulate within five years an amount approaching a billion dollars of postal savings-bank deposits. The deposits would be made in small sums, and there would be an enormous outlay, in the form of large salaries to government employees, for handling funds, and for keeping the accounts at the Auditor's Office, where every deposit and every withdrawal would necessarily be debited and credited to the receiving postmaster, as well as debited and credited to the depositor, and where all remittances

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made by postmasters and all transactions, including the final investments, must be carefully recorded.

How and where the government would find any secure investment for these funds at a rate of interest which would reimburse its expenditures, is the difficult problem. Extreme socialists would advocate that the money be loaned to farmers on the security of real estate, farm stock and implements, or growing crops; but no sound financial authority would approve such a plan. Even if there were probability of a permanent national debt, it is clear that there is no margin in our two per cent. bonds for such an investment. If the money were not invested, but allowed to accumulate in the Treasury, not only would the loss of interest be fatal, but one of the primary objects of the scheme—that of getting dormant funds into circulation—would be defeated. Some of the bills before Congress propose to pay depositors interest at the rate of four per cent. a year. How four per cent., or even two per cent., could be paid, and all the vast expenses of the enterprise liquidated from the proceeds of any gilt-edged securities afloat in the market at the present moment, is a conundrum.

One pending bill sagely provides that the Auditor for the Post Office Department shall be the sole judge of the securities into which the deposits shall be funded, and considerately raises his salary five hundred dollars *per annum,* in view of the enlarged responsibilities entailed upon him by this duty.

Appeals are made to the success of a similar institution in England; but it is well known that the English government finds itself unable to invest the accumulations of its postal savings-bank in such manner as to reimburse itself for the interest paid, to say nothing of the enormous cost of administration. Official reports show that England is paying its depositors $2\frac{3}{4}$ per cent. interest, and investing their money in a $2\frac{3}{4}$ per cent. consol. For several years, she has been obliged to pay for these consols, in the open market, a premium ranging from 110 to 114. All this premium, as well as the entire expense of administration and accounting, is a dead loss. And no English government is strong enough to suggest a reduction of the interest on savings-bank deposits.

That experience would be repeated here. The interest rate once established, no matter how unprofitable the business might become, no statesman or political party would ever dare to face

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the wrath of several million voters thus feeding on the bounty of the nation, by proposing to reduce it.

By as much as this country is greater than England; by as much as its wage-earners are better paid; by as much as its people are more prosperous and more aggressive—by that much would the magnitude of the operations of a postal savings-bank be increased here; by that much would complications, embarrassments and perils be multiplied.

The expense entailed by the enormously increased labor in accounting that would be required, has been alluded to. But the ceaseless vigilance that would be necessary to keep this accounting current, and the serious danger which would be involved in a relaxation of vigilance, are a still stronger incentive to caution. It is safe to say that, if postal savings-banks were established here and interest paid at a rate sufficiently high to attract deposits, at least one thousand additional clerks would be required within five years to keep these accounts in the Auditor's Office. Yet none of the bills pending in Congress shows the slightest comprehension of a necessity for minute and accurate accounting. Unless its accounts were kept up with promptness and accuracy, the whole system would fall into utter confusion; but experience has shown how reluctant Congress is to provide by adequate appropriations for the proper conduct of the branches which now exist.

Another proposition, which is already the subject of attempted legislation, is a system of postal telegraphs. Whether the government buys the existing lines through condemnation or otherwise, or builds new lines of its own, the expenditures would from the outset be very large, and the annual increment of expenditures for extending into new regions would also be immense. But, assuming the lines to be already built or purchased, their attachment to the postal service would involve greatly increased disbursements.

Additional employees would be required at most offices, and additional compensation must be paid at those offices where the present force could handle the new business. A complicated system of additional accounts must be kept at each office, with its series of frequent reports showing all the transactions in detail. These reports would be received and audited at the Auditor's Office, where, unless some simpler form of accounting than now prevails were adopted, the original or a duplicate copy of each

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telegram would be demanded, that the words might be counted and the distance computed, so as to verify the postmaster's debit to himself of a sufficient fee collected. Possibly, a plan of payment by stamps could be devised and some of these complications avoided. But it is an instructive fact that, after many years' trial of stamps in prepayment of newspaper and periodical postage, their use has been found unsatisfactory, and by deliberate act of Congress abandoned.

If by governmental absorption and operation of our telegraph lines the cost of transmitting messages could be greatly reduced, there would be a reason and, possibly, some excuse for it. But when we consider the liberal salaries paid to, and the short hours of work exacted from, government employees, as compared with those of similar grades in telegraph offices, we may reasonably doubt whether any reduction in present charges could be made, unless the government were willing to add still another losing venture to the much suffering postal system.

The persistent and influential advocates of the postal telegraph in America likewise cite the experience of England as favorable to their views. But they have certainly failed to read correctly official reports readily accessible, which show conclusively that their pet scheme is conducted, even in that compact and populous land, at a large and rapidly increasing annual loss. A tabulated statement of the receipts and expenditures of the English postal telegraph every year from 1872 to 1898 shows yearly deficits. The deficit amounted to over £118,000 in 1872; to £471,000 in 1887, and to £606,006 in 1898. The total loss for the twenty-six years was £7,235,897, or about $36,000,000. The deficit now is at the rate of $3,000,000 a year, and a bonded indebtedness rests on the telegraph system representing cost of purchase and betterments amounting to over $50,000,000.

With the wide stretches of sparsely populated and wholly uninhabited territory in the United States, all of which must be liberally served to give satisfaction under government auspices, it may be left to expert mathematicians to figure out what annual deficit would result should we venture on this experiment.

And England does not secure the poor boon of extraordinary cheapness in telegraph service by thus taxing the non-users for the benefit of its patrons. On the surface, rates seem to be low—sixpence for ten words, including address and signature. Fre-

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quently the ten words and more are required for the address and signature alone, leaving the actual message to be paid for in addition. As a matter of fact, the cheap rates inure mostly to the benefit of business firms and wealthy patrons, who, by paying a fee of five dollars a year, may register an address, thus saving the expense of innumerable repetitions thereof. But the plain people pay nearly or quite as much for messages as they do in this country, distance considered.

The Hon. Eugene F. Loud, of California, Chairman of the Committee on Post Office and Post Roads of the House of Representatives, discussed some of these proposed innovations in a recent speech. His closing remarks were as follows:

"Let us strive to return to original principles and put behind us this policy of paternalism. A nation is great and strong that depends upon the individual efforts of its people. Government has its legitimate functions, the people theirs. Do not seek to restrain and deprive them of the blessings of a true democracy. The people have more honesty and sense than we give them credit for. The very nature of government ownership and management tends to stifle hope and incentive, removes personal responsibility, makes man a mere machine. Let human incentive have full play; let the Government govern, and let the people strive and compete among themselves to improve and better the world. Then we will have a happy and prosperous people."

This wise admonition coming from perhaps the best living authority on postal legislation, will convince all prudent men that great caution is advisable in widening our already well cultivated fields of paternalism. All employees of the present postal service, including fourth class postmasters, many of whom receive the entire revenues of their offices as compensation, are organized by divisions, and all are pushing clamorous demands for more pay.

Even as I write, comes the revelation that fourteen postmasters and special mail carriers in the State of Georgia have been indicted for conspiracy to falsify their returns, swelling the amount of business transacted or "cancellations," in order that, under the peculiar laws governing the matter, the compensation of all might be increased. Such conspiracies are possible in many different branches of the system, and temptations thereto are numerous. They are difficult of detection, and still more difficult to punish because of the political interests involved. It is impossible to take up such derelictions purely on their merits, as would be done if personal interests only were concerned. There seems to be a prevailing sentiment that it is much less blame-

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worthy to perpetrate a swindle on the Government than on a private financial or commercial institution.

The business nature of the mail service has even induced bold and open propositions to actually take the Government into partnership in the conduct of some of its collateral accessories. A bill is pending in Congress, and has been favorably reported by a majority of the Post Office Committee, under the provisions of which an outside corporation would share profits and losses with the Government on a scheme for return postal-cards. The corporation offers to furnish its customers all over the country with these return cards, which are to be mailed to the correspondents of its patrons. In case the cards ever come back through the mail, this corporation agrees to redeem them from a fund previously deposited somewhere for that purpose. Every Postmaster General to whom this thing has been submitted has vehemently protested against it, and a strong minority of the House Committee has reported adversely, denouncing it in the most vigorous terms. Nevertheless, at this writing it stands upon the calendar with a favorable majority report from the Committee, and powerful lobby influence behind it.

Only a few years ago, still another copartnership postal venture was inaugurated, this time, however, with the public instead of the Government. A corporation was organized in New York or Chicago with a capital of $1,000,000 for the avowed purpose of securing the reduction of letter postage to one cent. That was purely a money-making proposition. This corporation through its agents made contracts with banks, large jobbing houses and other heavy patrons of the letter mail, whereby the said corporation should receive one-half the total amount saved by said firms on their correspondence, during the first three years of the existence of one-cent postage. Many thousands of these contracts were made, aggregating untold millions of dollars in prospective profits. Systematic agitation for one-cent postage was carried on through commercial bodies and by all other possible means of influencing Congress. This job, if successful, would have reduced the postal revenues at once more than $30,000,000 a year, thereby fatally crippling the service at many points; but that made no difference to its energetic promoters. They pushed it with great energy and promise of success for a considerable period. Just when or why it was finally abandoned does not matter. The

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possibility of its resurrection is one of the things to be kept in mind, in considering whither this tendency is likely to lead us.

Perhaps the most noteworthy excursion into State Socialism which has come to public attention is a Senate bill supported by voluminous arguments which have been printed and circulated at the public expense, and are apparently endorsed by a large element of our citizenship. This bill, consisting of more than sixty printed pages, provides for the acquisition, purchase, and condemnation by the Government of all railroads lying in the States and Territories, and for the operation of said roads by the United States, attaching their entire transportation business to the present postal system. It stipulates that eleven Assistant Postmasters-General shall be appointed at an annual salary of $10,000 each, who shall supersede the present Interstate Commerce Commission, who shall be located at convenient headquarters in different parts of the country, and who shall have entire charge and control of the management of all railroads. The bill goes into minute detail regarding rates of transportation for freight and passengers, even stipulating the price to be paid for upper and lower berths in different kinds of sleeping-cars. The money for acquiring and constructing railroads is, of course, to be provided by the issue of United States bonds. Elaborate machinery is prescribed for all the operating functions of the system. But there is almost total silence in regard to the accounting features, which would necessarily involve the organization of a central bureau connected with the Auditor's Office, with so many thousand employees that the mind is bewildered in attempting to grasp its magnitude.

One pertinent suggestion contained in the printed argument accompanying the bill is, that a postal savings-bank system can be founded on investments in the bonds issued to "acquire" the railroads. Thus, by an ingenious interlocking device, these propositions are made to support one another.

The postal railway plan is the ripe (or over-ripe) fruitage of governmental paternalism. No one can deny that it is a logical sequence of the milder schemes previously mentioned. Doubtless, it is too far in advance of current public demands to be catalogued as a menacing peril at this time. But as to postal savings-banks, postal telegraphs, and co-partnership with corporations in the postal-card business—each is a burning question of the hour.

Those who advocate Government ownership and management

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of all so-called "public utilities," argue illogically from a basis of supposed success in transporting the mails with speed and accuracy. The argument is illogical, because it utterly fails to consider the fact that the government avails itself of innumerable private enterprises in accomplishing these results through the mail service. The Post Office Department owns practically nothing used in the transportation of the mails, except the bags in which they are carried and the locks which fasten the bags. The railroads, steamboats, stage coaches, street cars, wagons for hauling mails to depots in cities, even the horses and carts used by some letter carriers, are the private property of individuals or corporations, and are hired for the public use.

If the Post Office Department owned all these instrumentalities, and were obliged to keep them in repair, to increase the rolling stock and other stock, and to extend railway lines in response to public demand, the magnitude of the enterprise would be more clearly revealed. There can be no doubt that a very large share of the marvellous efficiency of our present postal service is due to the vigor, alertness, even the selfish, money-making motives, of the corporate and individual energies employed therein.

The obvious conclusion of the whole matter is, that the postal system, being a purely commercial or financial enterprise under governmental auspices, is an abnormal function, requiring special treatment and embodying peculiar risks. The branches already in operation present enough complications, defects and possibilities of perversion to warrant the strenuous efforts of the highest wisdom for their immediate improvement. Imperfections in administrative methods are both numerous and important, but they are far outweighed and outnumbered by defects at vital points in the accounting service. Until these defects are remedied, and until we can forecast a possible limit to the prodigious strides which this business venture, on its present basis, is making, the statesman, the publicist and the plain citizen may very judiciously withhold countenance from plausible innovations. So magnificent an edifice must not be allowed to fall; so splendid a structure must not be permitted to become shaky. It must be buttressed and strengthened as it stands, before we can empower theorists to superimpose additional accretions that will menace the stability of such a potent instrumentality of civilization.

HENRY A. CASTLE.

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THE VICTORIAN ERA OF BRITISH EXPANSION.

BY ALLEYNE IRELAND.

I.

THE expansion of England will go down into history linked with the names of England's great Queens. Although Queen Elizabeth died before a single English colony was founded, the peculiar character of her reign entitles her to the distinction of being the founder of Greater Britain. When she ascended the throne of England in 1558 Spain was the great colonial power. The West Indies, Florida, Mexico, California, Peru, the Philippines—practically the whole of the New World, as it was then known—belonged to Spain. To this vast territory was added in 1580, by the subjugation of Portugal, the whole of the Portuguese Empire in the Old World—the settlements on the East and West coasts of Africa, on the Malabar and Coromandel coasts of India, at Aden, Socotra, Muscat and Ormus, in Ceylon and Burmah, in the Banda Islands and the Moluccas.

In 1558, England was at peace with Spain, and Philip, the Spanish monarch, was a suitor for Elizabeth's hand. But whatever small chance there may have been of this marriage taking place was destroyed by the action of Pope Paul IV., who, on being informed of the Queen's accession, notified her that England was still a fief of Rome, and that, as the Pontiff had never recognized the marriage of Henry VIII. to Anne Boleyn, she was illegitimate and could not inherit the Crown. From that time forward the struggle between Protestant and Catholic Europe, which terminated in the destruction of the Spanish Armada, was inevitable; and the accession of the Calvinist Henry IV., of Navarre, head of the Huguenot party in France, drew England and Protestant Europe into an alliance against Spain.

It was out of this religious strife that the beginnings of British

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Empire arose. Impatient of the intolerable pretentions of Spain, the Elizabethan seamen went forth and, by war and by exploration, opened the eyes of Englishmen to the possibilities of the over-sea expansion which took place under the immediate successors of Elizabeth. It is only necessary to recall the heroic exploits of Drake, Hawkins, Frobisher, Cavendish and Raleigh to emphasize the gallant parentage of the British Empire in the Elizabethan Age.

But critical as were the affairs of England at the accession of Elizabeth, a crisis equally grave, but for the larger unit of Great and Greater Britain, marked the early years of Victoria's reign.

The mercantile system, under which the Colonial Empire of England had labored since the days of James I., had received its death-blow in the success of the American War of Independence. The happy failure of England to conquer the American Colonies had been accompanied by a no less happy success in destroying French power in Canada, in the East and in the West Indies. One Empire had been lost; another had been gained.

A rude shock had been administered, however, to the theories on which, according to the general belief, the Empire had been built. The public sentiment of England, as well as the deliberate opinion of her statesmen, turned in the direction of giving up an Empire, which, since it could apparently be no longer maintained for the benefit of the Mother Country, could no longer afford a sufficient return for the responsibility involved in its protection. Enthusiasts who believed that the new economic doctrines of Adam Smith would be adopted by all the great Powers, and who foresaw the commencement of an era of universal free-trade, asked, with much plausibility, wherein lay the advantage of maintaining political control over territories which, under another flag, would still be open to British trade, when even under the British flag other nations were to have free rights of competition with British merchants?

In the very year of the Queen's accession the Canadian Rebellion added another argument to the persuasions of those who would have welcomed a policy of contraction. But out of the Rebellion came the great Durham Report—the charter of self-government for the British Colonies. In this Report, a new idea of Colonial Empire was advanced; not for the sake of the Mother

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Country, but for the good of the Colonies themselves, should the Empire be maintained. Lord Durham, replying to the general opinion held at that time, that, as independence was the natural sequence of colonization, the sooner Canada was cast off by Great Britain the better, said: "I cannot participate in the notion that it is the part either of prudence or of honor to abandon our countrymen."

But the permanent acceptance by the British people of their destiny as the world's great colonizers was delayed for many years. Under a rule less admirable than that of the Queen, there might have sprung up in the Colonies themselves a sentiment which would have met half-way the anti-expansion views of the home-folk; and the result would then have justified the attitude of the London *Times* towards the colonial forecasts of Lord John Russell. "He does not shrink," said the *Times*, on February 11th, 1850, "from contemplating the eventual independence of our Colonies, and proposes to prepare them for it by free institutions. For our own part, we think it the merest prudery to blink that inevitable event."

Nor was the sentiment in favor of dismemberment greatly diminished until the time of the Queen's Golden Jubilee in 1887. In the circumstances surrounding that event, a new idea found birth—the Unity of the Empire. All that could be done to cast off the Colonies, short of absolute repudiation of the contract, had been done. The Empire had survived the disintegrative tendencies of Mr. Gladstone's policy, and had refused to accept the badge of disloyalty which he would have conferred on its several parts under the pretence of ministering to an honorable and praiseworthy spirit of independence. The joyous acclamations of the Imperial millions in 1887 showed British statesmen that the Colonies were possessed of a deeper affection for the flag, a warmer devotion to the person of their sovereign, than the measure that had been ascribed to them by the "Little Englanders."

The tide had turned at last! The loyalty which had withstood the carelessness and contempt of Ministers, which had persisted through the shameful abandonment of Gordon, through the smug insanity of the Transvaal retrocession, which had seen the downfall of the great pro-consuls Frere and Grey, and had ever waxed deeper and stronger, was now recognized and applauded at home.

"In these communities," said the London *Times* on April 21st,

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1887, *"as we are all beginning to feel,* there is a great reserve of strength for the Mother Country."

From 1887 onward there followed a rapid consolidation of the Empire. The work of Seeley and Froude in one sphere of literary activity, of Kipling in another, and the strong personality of Mr. Chamberlain, backed by his indefatigable labor, combined to draw the outposts of the realm into a closer union. "The sense of possession," said Mr. Chamberlain in 1897, "has now given place to the sentiment of kinship. We think and speak of them as part of ourselves, as part of the British Empire, united to us, although they may be dispersed throughout the world, by ties of kindred, religion, of history and of language, and joined to us by the seas that formerly seemed to divide us."

In recent years, two events have brought the people of Great and Greater Britain still closer together. One was the Queen's Diamond Jubilee of 1897, which united the Empire in one vast pageantry in honor of its beloved Mistress. Another was the South African War, which so completely falsified the opinion of Mr. John Morley, who, seeking some years ago for a simile of the utterly impossible, said (I quote from memory): "As well might one believe that New Zealand would spend her blood and treasure to uphold British supremacy in South Africa."*

If the war has disclosed many defects in the British system, it has shown also that, when the British Empire goes to war, its sons are but sorry pupils for those who write patriotism a crime. There is not a single British land from the St. Lawrence to the Hugli, from Carlisle Bay to Spencer's Gulf, but has offered its best blood to the cause. The Canadian farmer, the West Indian planter, the Australian station-hand, English Earl and Indian Prince have nobly fulfilled the poet's challenge:

"Shedders of blood! When hath our own been spared?"

II.

THE GROWTH OF THE UNITED KINGDOM.

Leaving for treatment in a separate article the growth of the Colonies and India, it is my purpose to attempt a brief account of some of the principal features of the growth of the United Kingdom under the late Queen.

*For a full discussion of the growth of the British Colonial Conception see my "Tropical Colonization," pp. 5-35.

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It will be readily understood that, in collecting statistics covering so wide a range of time and subject, approximate accuracy is the utmost that can be hoped for. In almost every instance the figures given are drawn from official sources; and, when the years selected do not correspond with the exact limits of the Queen's reign, it is because official data are not available here for consultation.

(1.) We shall begin with the consideration of the increase which has taken place in the Population, Revenue and Expenditure of the United Kingdom between 1837 and 1900:

POPULATION (in thousands).

	1840.	1860.	1880.	1897.
England and Wales	15,730	19,902	25,714	31,055
Increase				97.42%
Scotland	2,600	3.054	3,705	4,218
Increase				62.23%
Ireland	8,155	5,820	5,202	4,551
Decrease				79.19%
Total, United Kingdom	26,485	28,776	34,621	39,821
Increase				50.35%

From these figures it is seen that during the Queen's reign the population of the United Kingdom has doubled, notwithstanding the fact that the population of Ireland decreased by 79.19 per cent. The change which has taken place in the distribution of the population may be observed from the following figures:

	1840.	1897.
England and Wales	59.39 per cent.	77.98 per cent.
Scotland	9.82 "	10.59 "
Ireland	30.79 "	11.43 "
	100.00	100.00

No less interesting are the statistics as to the revenue of Great Britain during the Victorian reign.

REVENUE (in thousands of pounds).

	1837.	1867.	1900.
Total	51,437	69,435	119,840
Increase			132.98%
Excise	14,518	20,670	32,100
Per cent. of total	28.22	29.77	26.79
Customs	22,908	22,303	23,800
Per cent. of total	44.53	32.12	19.86
Property and income tax	5,341	5,700	18,750
Per cent. of total	10.38	8.21	15.65
Post office	2,340	4,470	13,100
Per cent. of total	4.55	6.44	10.93
Legacy and succession duties	....	....	14,020
Per cent. of total	....	....	11.70

The salient points of the above table may be thus summed up: The total revenue increased 132.98 per cent., whilst three notable changes took place in the sources from which the revenue was derived. The establishment of a policy of free trade reduced the ratio of income from customs duties from 44.53 per cent. of a

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revenue of £51,437,000 to 19.86 per cent. of a revenue of £119,840,000. The income from post-office receipts increased to very nearly six times its former amount, and its relative importance grew from a little under 5 per cent. to something over 10 per cent. of the total. The legacy and succession duties, which did not figure in the earlier years, yielded more than a tenth of the total revenue in 1900. The general tendency appears to be in the direction of throwing an increased burden of taxation on the rich.

When the Briton considers the very small number of commodities which are to-day subject to any form of tax, he may thankfully look back on Sydney Smith's famous description of the state of taxation at the beginning of the century:

> "The school-boy whips his taxed top; the beardless youth manages his taxed horse, with a taxed bridle, on a taxed road; and the dying Englishman pouring his medicine, which has paid seven per cent., into a spoon that has paid fifteen per cent., flings himself back on his chintz bed, which has paid twenty-two per cent., makes his will on an eight-pound stamp, and expires in the arms of an apothecary who has paid a license of £100 for the privilege of putting him to death. His whole property is then immediately taxed from two to ten per cent. Besides the probate, large fees are demanded for burying him in the chancel. His virtues are handed down to posterity on taxed marble, and he will then be gathered to his fathers to be taxed no more."

Coincidently with the growth of the population and revenue, occurred a vast increase in the expenditures of the country.

EXPENDITURES (in thousands of pounds).

	1837.	1867.	1900.
Total	52,164	66,773	133,722
Increase			156.34%
Debt Charges	24,357	26,074	23,216
Per cent. of total	46.69	39.05	17.36
All Civil Charges	5,256	10,523	25,951
Per cent. of total	10.07	15.76	19.41
Army	6,522	14,675	43,600
Per cent. of total	12.50	21.98	32.60
Navy	4,750	10,676	26,000
Per cent. of total	9.11	15.99	19.44

It is seen that the total expenditure of the United Kingdom increased during the Queen's reign by 156.34 per cent. The changes in the direction of the expenditure are significant. The charges on the public debt decreased from 46.69 per cent. of the total expenditure in 1837 to 17.36 per cent. in 1900. To put the matter in another way, if the ratio of expenditure on debt to total expenditure had been the same in 1900 as it was in 1837, the amount paid out for that purpose in 1900 would have been £62,434,000, instead of £23,216,000. There is a marked increase in

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the proportion of expenditure devoted to civil administration; but this has been accompanied by a still greater increase in the charges for the army and the navy. Taking the army and navy together, the absolute increase has been from £11,272,000 in 1837 to £69,600,000 in 1900; whilst the increase relative to the total expenditure has been from 21.61 per cent. to 52.04 per cent.—in other words, whilst the total expenditure of the country has increased by 156.34 per cent., the expenditure on the army and navy has increased by 617.46 per cent.

But there is another aspect of this question which is very important—namely, the ratio which the taxation of the country bears to the volume of its trade. The following table exhibits the striking change which has taken place:

	1840.	1899.
Revenue per capita	£1 19 11	£2 19 10
Value of imports plus exports per capita	4 8 5	18 14 9
Ratio of taxation per capita to value of imports plus exports per capita	45.14 to 100	15.96 to 100

From the above figures it is seen that the increase of taxation between 1840 and 1899 was 49.89 per cent., and the increase in the value of imports plus exports was 323.82 per cent.

(2.) We may now take up the growth of the imports, exports and shipping of the United Kingdom between 1840 and 1899.

Before proceeding to an examination of the foreign trade of the United Kingdom, it may be well if we have before us a few facts indicative of the remarkable change which took place during the reign of Victoria in the material factors of British life. When we turn our attention to the condition of England in the years immediately preceding and following the commencement of the nineteenth century, we note three main characteristics: (1.) The people were an agricultural people, sparing only enough men from the fields and pastures to form two provincial cities of more than 50,000 inhabitants—Bristol and Norwich. One man in every three was, in fact, either a farmer or an agricultural laborer. (2.) The country raised its own food supply, and even exported food to the Continent. (3.) Government regulation of trade was the order of the day, no less than fifteen hundred Acts of Parliament being in force in 1820 relating to the entry, export and custody of goods as matters of custom-house supervision.

To-day only one man in ten is concerned with farming or agriculture. There are more than eighty towns of over 50,000 inhabitants, showing that, whilst the total population increased

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four-fold, the number of large towns increased forty-fold. Again, from a position of independence in regard to food supply, England has come to be almost entirely dependent on imports, no less than 36.76 per cent. of her total imports in 1897 representing food stuffs—a round sum of $890,000,000 out of a total of $2,425,000,000. Finally, the British tariff regulations, thanks to the adoption of a free-trade policy, can be written on a single sheet of note paper; and all trade monopolies have disappeared. In 1843 there were more than a thousand articles subject to duties; to-day there are less than a score.

Many factors contributed to bring about these changes; but, from the infinite complexity of action and reaction, it is not always easy to distinguish cause from effect.

The turning point in the economic conditions of England may be placed toward the end of the eighteenth century. Arkwright and Compton had invented the spinning-jenny and mule, and in 1785 steam was first used in cotton manufacture. Up to that time, the weaving of cotton and woollen goods by hand had afforded an additional source of income to the agricultural population. While the men were in the fields, the women sat by their spinning wheels.

But at the very time when machinery began to render unprofitable the manufacture of cloth by hand, the agricultural population suffered an appalling disaster in the continual succession of bad harvests between 1784 and 1809. It became evident that food must be secured from abroad, and in 1815 the Corn Laws, hitherto maintained in the interest of the land-owner, were changed so as to admit foreign wheat free of duty when the price per quarter rose above eighty shillings. From that time onward the growth of English manufactures was rapid; not only was the home population supplied with machine-made commodities of every kind, but a large export trade gradually arose by way of compensation for food imports.

In 1839, the Anti-Corn Law League was established at Manchester, and in 1846 the Corn Laws were repealed. Gradually, barrier after barrier was swept away, and the principle of division of labor was established. Henceforth, England would draw her food supplies from countries better suited than herself, from the nature of their soil and climate, to the production of food stuffs; and, in return, she would utilize her coal and iron deposits to sup-

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ply the world with manufactured goods, the raw materials for which could be drawn from abroad.

The stimulus afforded to the carrying trade, both on land and by sea, through this interchange of commodities, was enormous. The first English railroad was operated in 1830; the first ocean steamer was built in 1838. By 1843 the paid-up capital of English railroads was $347,000,000, and in 1897 the amount had reached $5,400,000,000. The effect on the foreign shipping trade was no less remarkable. In 1840 the tonnage of shipping entered and cleared in the ports of the United Kingdom was 9,000,000; by 1860 the figures had changed to 25,000,000; and, by 1897, the enormous total of 90,000,000 tons was reached.

From the above brief sketch, it will be seen that the accession of the Queen took place at a time when a complete industrial revolution was being inaugurated. The remarkable nature and extent of that revolution may be made more readily apparent by a reference to the growth of the national industry as expressed in imports, exports and shipping.

IMPORTS (in thousands of pounds sterling).

	1840.	1860.	1880.	1899.
Total	65,873	210,531	411,230	484,899
Increase				636.11%
From British Colonies	....	42,959	92,519	106,670
Per cent. of total	....	20.41	22.50	22.00
From Foreign Countries	....	167,571	318,711	378,229
Per cent. of total	....	79.59	77.50	78.00
From United States	....	44,727	107,681	120,005
Per cent. of total	....	21.24	26.04	24.75
From France	....	17,774	41,970	53,281
Per cent. of total	....	8.44	10.21	10.98
From Germany	....	14,897	24,355	30,041
Per cent. of total	....	7.07	5.92	6.20
From Russia	....	16,202	14,054	18,690
Per cent. of total	....	7.70	3.42	3.85

Apart from the remarkable increase in the volume of total imports, an increase of 636.11 per cent., the most interesting feature disclosed by the above table is the even maintenance of the relative importance of the various sources of supply. Thus, whilst the imports from the British Colonies and India have increased to two and one-half times their earlier value, their ratio to the value of total imports has only increased from 20.41 per cent. to 22.00 per cent., and the change in the ratio of foreign imports has, of course, been correspondingly slight.

Considered in relation to the growth of the population, the increase of imports between 1840 and 1899 has been from £2 13s. 8d. ($12.88) *per capita* to £11 16s. 6d. ($56.76) *per capita.*

The slight increase in the relative importance of the United

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States and France, as sources of supply, is compensated for by a corresponding decrease in the importance of Germany and Russia; though it must be borne in mind that the figures given above do not represent the total value of imports from Germany, as a considerable quantity of German goods reach England from Dutch ports. The change which has taken place in the relative importance of various countries as sources of supply for the United Kingdom may be seen from the following table:

ORIGIN OF BRITISH IMPORTS.

	1860.	1899.
From British Colonies	20.41	22.00
From France, Germany, Russia and United States	44.44	49.78
From other countries	35.15	28.22
	100.00	100.00

The nature of the food imports may be seen from the following table (value of wines, spirits and beer not included):

FOOD IMPORTS (in thousands of pounds sterling).

	1855.	1880.	1897.
Total	143,543	411,230	484,899
Food stuffs	45,702	170,113	177,995
Per cent. food stuffs	31.82	41.36	36.76
Principal articles—			
Live stock for food	1,616	10,060	11,380
Bacon and hams	617	10,985	12,550
Beef	483	2,424	6,000
Butter and margarine	2,050	12,141	18,400
Coffee	1,689	6,861	3,585
Grain of all sorts	17,508	62,857	53,579
Fruits	1,468	6,895	10,430
Sugar	10,974	23,000	16,600
Tea	5,225	11,613	10,405
Eggs	236	2,235	4,357

The only points which need be emphasized in regard to the foregoing figures are those relating to sugar and coffee. It is seen that the value of coffee imported fell from £6,861,000 in 1880 to £3,585,000 in 1897, and that the value of sugar imported fell in the same time from £23,000,000 to £16,600,000. In the first case, the fall was due to decrease in quantity imported; in the second case to decrease in the value of sugar. The changes may be readily observed from the following figures:

	1880.	1897.
Quantity of coffee imported	1,546,000 cwts.	756,000 cwts.
Value per cwt.	£4.44	£4.74
Quantity of sugar imported	20,247,000 cwts.	32,200,000 cwts.
Value per cwt.—		
Refined	29s.	13s.
Raw	22s.	9s.

Confining ourselves to the quantity of these articles retained for home consumption, we find that the quantity of coffee consumed per head has decreased from 0.92 lb. to 0.69 lb., and that the amount of sugar used has increased from 63.40 lbs. to 80.89

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lbs. The figures for sugar include the amount used in the manufacture of jams and sweetmeats, and the quantity of raw sugar refined in the United Kingdom and exported.

DOMESTIC EXPORTS (value in thousands of pounds sterling).

	1840.	1860.	1880.	1899.
Total value	51,308	135,891	223,060	264,660
Increase				415.82%
To Colonies	17,099	43,665	72,254	87,723
Per cent. of total	33.33	32.13	32.39	33.15
To Foreign Countries	34,209	92,226	150,806	176,837
Per cent. of total	66.67	67.87	67.61	66.82
To United States	5,283	21,667	30,856	18,104
Per cent. of total	10.29	15.94	13.83	6.84
To France	2,378	5,250	15,594	15,417
Per cent. of total	4.63	3.86	7.00	5.83
To Germany	5,579	13,355	16,943	25,838
Per cent. of total	10.87	9.83	7.60	9.76
To Russia	1,603	3,268	7,952	11,755
Per cent. of total	3.12	2.40	3.56	4.44

With a total increase in value of 415.82 per cent., the exports of British and Irish produce remain, as far as their general direction is concerned, almost exactly in the same position as they were in fifty years ago. Just one-third went to the British Colonies and India in 1840, and two-thirds went to foreign countries. To-day the former trade has decreased in relative importance by only nine-fiftieths of 1 per cent. The exports to France and Russia have slightly increased in proportion to the total exports, and a marked decrease is to be observed in the case of the United States. The decrease of 1.11 per cent. in the relative value of the exports to Germany is apparent rather than real, as a large amount of British and Irish goods reach Germany through Holland.

It is interesting to note that, as far as her exports are concerned, England still sends 22.43 per cent. of her produce and manufactures to the three great manufacturing countries—the United States, France and Germany.

The next point to be considered is the nature of the British and Irish exports. This aspect is dealt with in the following table:

DOMESTIC EXPORTS (in thousands of pounds sterling).

	1855.	1880.	1897.
Total value	95,688	233,600	234,220
Coal and coal products, except dyes	2,446	8,865	18,320
Per cent. of total	2.56	3.79	7.82
Cotton manufactures	27,579	63,662	54,043
Per cent. of total	28.82	27.25	23.07
Machinery	1,359	13,920	15,180
Per cent. of total	1.42	5.99	6.48
Woolen and worsted manufactures	7,718	17,265	15,976
Per cent. of total	8.07	7.39	6.82
Metal and metal products other than machinery	11,600	25,117	27,640
Per cent of total	12.12	10.75	11.81
Hardware and cutlery	2,959	3,028	2,104
Per cent. of total	3.09	1.30	0.90

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In absolute value an increase is to be observed in each group, with the exception of hardware and cutlery, which show the effect of German and American competition. Roughly, the export of machinery has increased to twelve times its earlier value, coal has multiplied eight-fold, whilst cotton, woollen and worsted, and metal products other than machinery have a little more than doubled. Cotton manufactures still form the bulk of domestic exports from the United Kingdom, although the relative importance of this export has decreased from 28.82 per cent. to 23.07 per cent. of the total value.

We come finally to that branch of British activity which has shown a more remarkable development than any other—shipping. Between 1840 and 1899, the combined value of total imports and total domestic exports of the United Kingdom increased by 539.65 per cent., and during the same period the tonnage of shipping entered and cleared in the ports of the United Kingdom, exclusive of coasting trade, increased by 866.18 per cent. Some details of this increase may be seen from the following table:

TONNAGE OF SHIPPING ENTERED AND CLEARED IN PORTS OF THE UNITED KINGDOM, EXCLUSIVE OF COASTING TRADE (in thousands of tons).

	1840.	1860.	1880.	1897.		1840.	1860.	1880.	1897.
British.....	6,490	13,914	41,349	64,426	Sail.....	8,648	19,722	21,522	9,145
Per cent....	68.76	56.36	70.40	71.43	Per cent.....	91.62	79.88	36.64	10.14
Foreign.....	2,949	10,775	17,387	25,772	Steam.....	791	4,967	37,213	81,053
Per cent....	31.24	43.64	29.60	28.57	Per cent.....	8.38	20.12	63.36	89.86
Total.....	9,439	24,689	58,736	90,198	Total.....	9,439	24,689	58,735	90,198

In so far as the shipping is divided into British and foreign, the United Kingdom is more than holding her own, inasmuch as seven vessels out of every ten which enter her ports fly the British flag. Steamers appear to be entirely superseding sailing vessels, which now only represent one-tenth of the shipping, instead of nine-tenths, as formerly. Even within the past seventeen years the tonnage of sailing vessels entered and cleared in the ports of the United Kingdom has fallen from 21,000,000 to 9,000,000, whilst the steam tonnage has increased from 37,000,000 to 81,000,000.

It does not lie within the scope of the present article to attempt any forecast of British and Irish trade. We hear a great deal about the decadence of the United Kingdom as a commercial power; but Englishmen may take some comfort from the follow-

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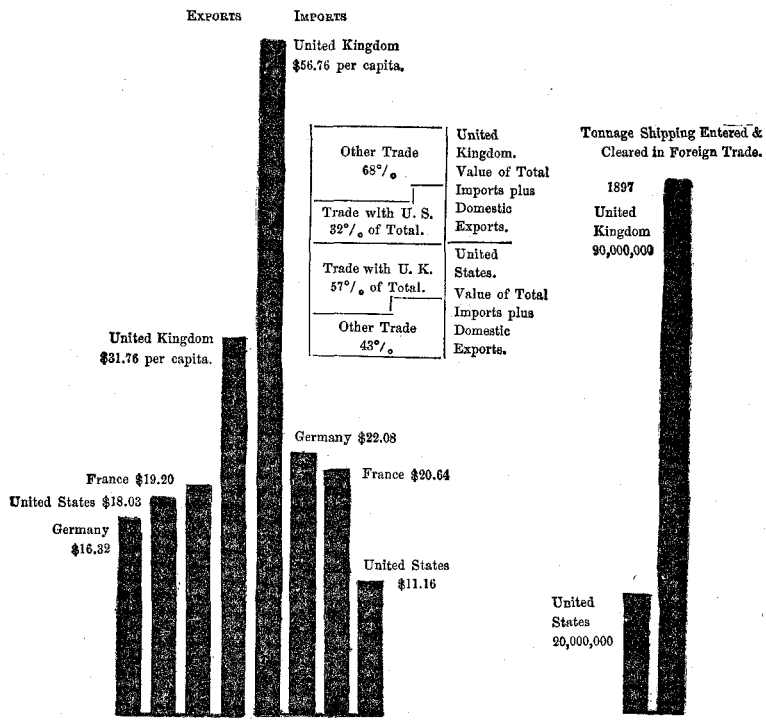
ing comparisons, which serve to show the enormous bulk of trade which still falls to the inhabitants of the United Kingdom. It will be seen that the United Kingdom imports, per head of her population, more than the United States, France and Germany


Exports
Imports
United Kingdom $56.76 per capita.
Other Trade 68%
Trade with U. S. 32% of Total.
United Kingdom. Value of Total Imports plus Domestic Exports.
Trade with U. K. 57% of Total.
Other Trade 43%
United States. Value of Total Imports plus Domestic Exports.
United Kingdom $31.76 per capita.
Germany $22.08
France $20.64
France $19.20
United States $18.03
Germany $16.32
United States $11.16
Tonnage Shipping Entered & Cleared in Foreign Trade.
1897
United Kingdom 90,000,000
United States 20,000,000

put together, and that she exports of her own produce and manufactures nearly as much per head as the people of France and Germany taken together, or as the people of the United States and Germany taken together. It may also be noted that, whereas England depends on the United States for 32 per cent. of her trade, the United States does 57 per cent. of her total trade with the United Kingdom.

ALLEYNE IRELAND.

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TWO YEARS OF THE FEDERAL BANKRUPTCY LAW.

BY WILLIAM H. HOTCHKISS, REFEREE IN BANKRUPTCY, ERIE COUNTY (NEW YORK) DISTRICT.

DOES the present national bankruptcy law fulfill its function? The answer one gives to this question will depend on one's conception as to what the function of the law is. In the days of bluff King Hal, his Lords and Commons prefixed preambles to their statutes, to show just what the statutes were expected to accomplish. The first English bankruptcy act, in 1542, quaintly entitled "An Act against such Persons as do make Bankrupt," as quaintly declares:

> "Whereas divers and sundry persons, craftily obtaining into their hands great substance of other men's goods, do suddenly flee to parts unknown, or keep their houses, not mindful to pay or restore to any their creditors, their debts and duties, but at their own wills and pleasures consume the substance obtained by credit of other men, for their own pleasure and delicate living, against all reason, equity and good conscience;"

and then it penalizes debt by outlawing the debtor who absconds, and imprisoning the debtor who does not. There was no doubt about the function of a bankruptcy law in those days. Englishmen never tricked out their bankrupts in green bonnets, as did the French, nor in brown and yellow coats, as did the Scotch. (How different this clothing of the bankrupt with the livery of debt, from our bestowal of bread-money in the shape of exemptions!) But England, until the fourth year of Anne, imprisoned the body, and—by denying a discharge—the spirit, for that matter, too. The function of her bankruptcy laws, for nearly two hundred years, was essentially penal.

Legislators long since forsook the preamble; debates indicate their purposes now. Had the old way pertained, we can well

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fancy that the present law would have been entitled "An Act to Abolish Old Debts," and would have been captioned thus:

"Whereas many of our citizens, through misfortune or speculation during the recent period of commercial depression, have become prisoners to their debts, and cannot through State laws secure discharges from their obligations and become productive members of society again, be it enacted."

If such was the purpose of the law, it surely is a success. In a little over two years, forty thousand American men and women have become voluntary bankrupts, and have presumably been discharged; while obligations aggregating between six and seven hundred millions have been cancelled.

This wholesale debt-delivery is, however, not the chief function of a bankruptcy law, and, more, it is by no means the real function of the present law. Our legislators builded far wiser than they knew. Yielding to sentiment, and intending, the vast majority of them, to enact a temporary law for the relief of debtors, they have given us a statute which—its discharge features aside—has not only the elements of a true bankruptcy law, but is in itself a fairly developed system for the prevention of commercial wrongs, and for the equitable distribution of the property of failing debtors.

We Americans, as a mass, seem never to have understood the dual reason for bankruptcy legislation. Our four laws have been relief acts—the first being expressly limited to five years, the others providing that the multitude of debtors born of the panic times of 1837, 1893, and the years following the Civil War, might be dicharged and begin over again. It has been otherwise in England. There, from Henry VIII. to Victoria, the bankruptcy law has been an evolution. It is a little curious to find that the discharge feature first appeared as an inducement against crime. The statute of 1705 made a bankrupt's failure to appear for examination a felony—this to check the century-long abscondence of insolvent traders; and then, as an incitement toward honesty, it provided that a bankrupt who remained and answered all questions truthfully should be rewarded with a discharge and should obtain an allowance out of the assets. From such lowly estate did the now mighty discharge feature come.

These two functions have since proceeded side by side, the felony function growing mellower, even to desuetude, year by

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year, and the discharge function more and more predominant. All the while, another function, scarcely recognized in the first law and but imperfectly in the second (that of the thirteenth year of Elizabeth), has been forcing its way through statutes and courts. To-day, it is *the* function of the English law, and though in this country fairly smuggled into our bankruptcy jurisprudence, is really *the* function of the present American law. I mean, of course, the administrative function, that which sequesters the debtor's property, which sets aside preferences, which gives to creditors the choice of the trustee, which limits the expenses for officers and attorneys, and, in the shortest possible time and at the minimum of expense—always supposing the creditors to be vigilant—renders the fictional trusteeship which every debtor holds for his creditors a reality in the *pro rata* distribution of his estate.

Said one discharged bankrupt, as he walked forth from the court the other day: "This is the first free breath I have drawn in a decade." For twenty years, a discharge effective beyond State lines has been impossible. Like an illustrious citizen of another republic, the insolvents of this period have dared scarce show their heads on the Rialto; on the contrary, they have disguised themselves as wives or relations, or else, hopeless of relief, have found employment where once they were employers, or perhaps become dependent on the friends of other days.

The statistics of the Department of Justice for the past two years are luminously in point. Somewhat over twelve thousand wage-earners have been discharged, as against only ten thousand merchants, one thousand manufacturers and the same number from the professions. Who these "wage-earners" had been may be guessed. In one of the important districts, out of 223 voluntary bankrupts for nine months of 1898-99, there were 36 commission men, 25 in real estate, and 60 foremen, builders, superintendents, salesmen and the like, all vocations requiring little or no capital, and, therefore, the frequent refuge of those who fail.

To the slaves of past misfortune, the bankruptcy law of 1898 has proven a manumission indeed. No frank philosopher will call this wrong. State laws, with their discharges good only to the State line, have proved hardly more civilized than the old English laws which, by denying a discharge, strove to compel full payment as well as equality. And yet complaints are daily lodged

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against this wholesale cancellation of old debts. Merchants have carried these credits over from year to year, hoping that payment would be made at last. In most cases, all that the law has taken from the creditor is his right to sue a man by whom payment was impossible; while the community has gained a productive freeman in place of a slave.

Nor can the solvent class quite overlook the fact that nine out of ten cases show no assets—ninety per cent. represent old failures; or the other fact that the liabilities often reach into the millions; secured and contingent debts, which others will pay, enormously swell the totals. Besides, the newspapers delight to tell of flippant bankrupts who, while seeking relief, pour vinegar into their creditors' wounds; a well-known actor returned one scarf-pin as his only asset, while a Salt Lake City bankrupt scheduled certain clothing, a bicycle and four wives, and, claiming the two former as exempt, bestowed his wives on his creditors. But the business man knows that the stampede is nearly over. Voluntary no-asset cases have fallen off as much as from twenty-five to forty per cent. in the important jurisdictions during the past eight months. The country may soon expect a trial of the law on its merits, not as a statute for the release of old debtors from ancient debts.

This temporary condition is emphasized by what is now generally recognized as the chief defect in the statute. In actual practice, not only is it all but impossible to prevent a discharge, but many obligations heretofore deemed beyond the pale of bankruptcy legislation, such as alimony, seem in the majority of the districts to be released. Neither is there any limit to the number of times a man may be discharged—there are already instances of a second and even a third bankruptcy; nor is that popular but insidious transaction which we call a fraudulent preference an objection to a discharge; while the penalties for flagrant frauds on creditors are few and the frauds are not easily proven. All this is unfortunate, and calls for amendment now. There is little disagreement as to what is needed, and Congress may be relied on again to put up the bars against the fraudulent debtor and the chronic bankrupt. Once these bars are up, the discharge function, at least in new failures, will be under control.

He who knows the real purpose behind modern bankruptcy laws, however, will quickly turn from these features of the law

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to those that provide for administration and distribution. There is, perhaps, a troublesome restraint on discretion. One court, in order to accomplish an advantageous sale, was forced to hold that horses were perishable property, for the reason that, if sale notices were sent to creditors, the horses would "eat their heads off" before the sale could take place; while another, to avoid a like delay, declared salt equally perishable, on the remote though satisfying authority found in the thirteenth verse of the fifth chapter of Matthew. The rules and forms provided by the Supreme Court are both Arcadian and archaic, and, often conforming neither to the law nor to each other, have led to confusion. The compensation allowed to trustees and referees has proved inadequate.

Indeed, still graver defects have discovered themselves. Of these the most serious are: (1.) that corporations can neither become voluntary bankrupts nor be halted by creditors when seeking to wind up business through family, friendly or directorial receiverships under State laws; (2.) that the federal courts, though charged with the collection of the assets, including those fraudulently transferred, must proceed to recover in the State courts, which are usually far behind in their calendars and, as a rule, unconsciously hostile to the bankruptcy system; (3.) the very unfortunate and disturbing belief that this law, unlike any other here or abroad, makes partial payments on account by an insolvent, within four months of the actual bankruptcy, preferences, irrespective of the debtor's intention to prefer or the creditor's belief that a preference was intended, and then compels the creditor so "preferred" to surrender such payments before proving the balance of his claim—a species of confiscation surely never intended by Congress.

These features aside—and amendments to meet them are already before Congress—the present law performs the administrative function better than any of its predecessors. The law of 1867 was repealed because its fees and delays permitted the looting of estates. Under the law of 1898, delays are practically impossible; while the reports furnished the Attorney-General show that the average cost of administration the country over, during the past year, is less than forty dollars for voluntary cases, and but two hundred and ten for involuntary, the latter, as a rule, involving the collection and distribution of assets. If it be true that the question of expense is the rock on which all bankruptcy

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laws are split, the present statute will never be shipwrecked. Expense of administration may be said to be under the minimum.

Prior to the passage of the present law—what with dissimilar State regulations and the old-time "foot-race to the clerk's office," general assignments to friendly trustees, chattel mortgage sales by wives and affiliation creditors, confessions of judgment and judgment notes to large mercantile houses, and secret liens and fraudulent preferences to friendly banks—the small creditor was at the mercy of the large, both of them suspicious of the local bank, and all three likely to stand aside in favor of wife, or brother, or son. The twin vices of permissible preferences and friendly liquidations were sapping our commercial morality.

As was said in the law of the first year of James I.:

> "Frauds and deceits, as new diseases, daily increase amongst such as live by buying and selling to the hindrance of traffick and mutual commerce."

Fraud, that fraud which coddles its hypocrisy with the excuse that others should have looked to their dues and ducats, was masquerading in the garb of diligence and making equity old-fashioned and equality an exception. Into this condition of things came the bankruptcy law of 1898. It was needed.

It contains some clauses which should be written in letters of gold. One clause commits the administration of estates to a trustee chosen by a majority in number and amount of the creditors present at the first meeting; adequate notice of this meeting is provided for. As a result, friendly liquidations, save in States still recognizing general assignments, have ceased; the creditors of the bankrupt, not his creatures, control. Another section permits examinations, sometimes inquisitorial in character, into the debtor's transactions; while it has three provisions which distinguish it as the best creditors' law yet passed in this country. I mean (1.) the now famous third act of bankruptcy; (2.) the elimination of intent from the definition of preference, and (3.) the avoidance of all liens through suits, if obtained within four months of the bankruptcy; each of these provisions being new to our bankruptcy jurisprudence and far-reaching to an extreme.

The first, thanks to the ramification of the mercantile agencies, has armed the distant as well as the local creditor with a ready weapon to halt the sheriff when that worthy lawfully, though wrongfully, seeks to sell assets on short notice, in the interest of

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the diligent few. The results have been sales on ample notice to all, larger sums realized, and, in the end, equality.

The second makes preferences easy to avoid, intent being immaterial, and insolvency and inequality, as a rule, not hard to show. The result is that, preferences being valueless unless four months old, few creditors try to secure them, and, if they do, often surrender to the bankrupt's trustee without suit. Local banks, mercantile houses and "the family" may suffer, but the other creditors, who have long been at the mercy of these, now get their share.

The third strikes at the root of commercial frauds, in wiping out every lien or priority secured through legal proceedings within four months, irrespective of intent or collusion, the only test being whether the debtor was insolvent at the time.

So warped is human nature when exhibited in the failing debtor and his complement, the "diligent creditor," that, in its ultimate analysis, a real bankruptcy law is strong or weak exactly in proportion as it prevents preferences. Judged by this standard, the present law is a strong one. The mere threat of enforced equality has reduced preferences to a minimum. Some have called it a statute for the collection of debts. It is hardly that. But it has proved a law for the prevention of preferences.

It is not surprising, therefore, that an eminent authority, Mr. William C. Sprague, editor of the *National Bankruptcy News and Reports,* after an elaborate investigation covering all lines of business and all parts of the country, in a recent address said:

> "I am firmly of the opinion that credit is being more freely given under the Bankruptcy Law than formerly, excepting in certain classes of cases where credit is given with an understanding, if not a contract, for a preference; that numerous State laws inimical to the extension of credits, and numerous practices on the part of failing debtors and their preferred creditors, by which an advantage was gained by a few creditors over the many, have been nullified; that credit and collection departments are in most cases being conducted at less expense than formerly; that there is very much greater security and safety felt by credit men in the conduct of their business under the present system; and that there are no disadvantages under the present system which either may not be speedily gotten rid of by amendatory legislation, or if suffered to remain, are not largely overbalanced by the disadvantages arising from the various State laws and practices under the former system."

Such being the results of two years' experience, the question comes: What shall be done now? Shall the law be suspended, or repealed, or amended?

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Some, pointing to the ancient Jewish jubilee, and forgetting that Hebrew civilization was pastoral, not commercial, and never evolved the idea of a *pro rata* distribution, cry: "Enough! The books are balanced, debtors have gone free; let the doors be shut again." Others would provide a jubilee year at regular intervals. Thus, the Clayton bill, now pending in Congress, would suspend the operation of the law for four years and then put it in force for a year, repeating this semi-decadal amnesty *ad infinitum*. It would be interesting to speculate on the condition of credit during the last six months of the fourth year! This method was tried in England in 1742, as an escape from the evils growing out of the discharge law of the fourth year of Anne; but before the suspension clause became operative it was moved forward by an amendatory act, a process repeatedly resorted to, until Parliament banished this idea of an intermittent law from England by making the act of 1742 permanent after 1775.

The law, then, should either be repealed or amended. Already some are clamoring for repeal. The "jubileeists" demand it on principle; our mighty crop of tares having been garnered, the purpose of the law, say they, has been fulfilled. These err in understanding, not motive. The same cannot be said of a less numerous but very powerful class who seek its repeal. The past two years have witnessed association after association of bankers fulminating against the law. Scarce a week passes but the heads of certain great mercantile establishments declare publicly that it must go. Even many lawyers charge a present decrease in litigation, amounting to a quarter or a third, to the existence of this statute. The three together have raised such a clatter that repeal bills are pending in both houses of Congress.

But, should the law be repealed? Not, surely, because self-interest, nourished by the memory of secret preferences and unfair advantage, rises like a banshee to warn the one-time preferred that its repeal would be profitable to them. Those who have not been able to command preferences, or to support collection bureaus, or to increase sales by subsidizing employees, are at last safeguarded by the law. Nor should it be repealed on the ground that it is wrong for the State to cancel debts. The interests of the State are ever greater than those of the individual. More, it should not be repealed because, once repealed, the nation will bid farewell to all bankruptcy legislation until panic again

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leaps through the land and furnishes an excuse for another jubilee. Meanwhile, the business world would be back again where it was three years ago, scrambling for precedence, the strong crushing the weak.

There is a much larger though not so well organized portion of our citizens who demand that the law shall stay on the books, but be amended to meet the defects already mentioned. In this class are such important bodies as the American Bar Association, the National Association of Credit Men, the Commercial Law League of America, and Boards of Trade and Chambers of Commerce in different parts of the country. Mr. E. C. Brandenburg, the bankruptcy expert of the Department of Justice, in his three annual reports to the Attorney-General, has taken strong positions in favor of the law, but urged amendments. Congress having failed to provide for an expert commission to investigate the operation of the law and make recommendations, this work has been assumed by the referees in bankruptcy, through an association unique in our history, but already responsible for some reports on its practical workings, and for the so-called Ray Amendatory Bill, pending in Congress.

The recommendations of these bodies have been conservative and wise. At present, they are directed to the accomplishment of three objects: (1.) making it more difficult to obtain discharges, at least to shut the door on shady and chronic bankrupts; (2.) widening the law so as to include corporations within its voluntary features, as well as to prevent those friendly receiverships which are frequent sources of injustice to creditors now; and (3.) changing the law so as to meet the decisions concerning jurisdiction of suits and so-called innocent preferences, to which reference has already been made. Many also advise the increase of the fees of the trustee and referee; others would secure a specific enactment that alimony and like obligations are not dischargeable; while the American Bar Association seeks to lock the door in advance by urging an amendment to the effect that any debtor who substantially diminishes his property by gambling, speculation or reckless management of his business shall be adjudged a bankrupt on the instance of his creditors.

These and other amendments are in the hands of the judiciary committees of Congress. Theirs is a Gargantuan task. Aside from financial and tariff legislation, no statute enters more homes

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or more deeply concerns every citizen than a bankruptcy law. In charge of such veterans as Mr. Hoar, of Massachusetts, in the Senate, and Mr. Ray, of New York, in the House, the country confidently awaits the outcome.

And when an amendatory bill shall have been passed, what then? Is it possible for Americans to have a permanent bankruptcy law? We would have had one continuously since 1867, had the law of that year provided for salaried bankruptcy judges, instead of fee-paid registers. The present law was born into a world of prejudice. Business men have not outgrown their hatred of its predecessor; the community at large has always overlooked the anti-fraud function and taken thought only of clauses whence comes the discharge. Their prejudices are so deep-seated that years of wise administration, aided by conservative amendments, will be necessary before the permanency of the law is assured.

That such a law is needed, few thoughtful men will deny. Where trade is extensive or commerce widespread, a bankruptcy law is as necessary as a process for the collection of debt. The *Lex Julia* of commercial Rome provided a complete bankruptcy system. Genoa, with Venice twin mistress of the trade of the Middle Ages, evolved a bankruptcy law in 1498; Holland found one necessary in 1531; England in 1542; France in 1560. Trade and debt-regulation must always go hand in hand.

A national law becomes peremptory where trade is interstate. When Germany became an empire, she recognized that fact, and now she enjoys a successful bankruptcy law. Nowhere is trade more extensive or interstate commerce more liquid than in the United States. Without such a law, the New York merchant is at the mercy of the Kansas legislator, the Mississippi planter must add a percentage to his price by way of insurance against the assignment laws of the Northern States. Indeed, so closely knit is commerce the world over that already there is agitation for a bankruptcy treaty between England and ourselves; while, for years, the subject of an international agreement, binding on all commercial nations, has been hopefully discussed.

When the proper time comes, Congress will do well to commit this whole subject to an expert commission. One of the first duties of the latter should be to provide a substitute for administration through referees' courts. As far as the writer has

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observed, there have been no scandals involving any of the seven hundred referees now in office; as a rule, they have proved able lawyers and honest men. But a system which divides the country into county districts, and thus makes the referees in the larger cities judicial officers of power and dignity, but leaves their brethren in small country communities petty officials, practically unpaid; which permits each—associate judges in effect, if not in name—to practice in all other courts; and, worst of all, which makes emolument depend on fees, than which no method of compensation for judicial services affords greater possibilities for evil—such a system must in the end go to pieces.

Doubtless, our referees' courts will never sink to the level of that seedy and slovenly Insolvent Court of England, to which Dickens introduces Mr. Samuel Weller, and whence came the smug and oily Mr. Solomon Pell. But if we are to have a permanent law for the administration of the insolvent estates of the future, we must have a bankruptcy court with bankruptcy judges. Our English cousins long since solved this problem that way. Their bankruptcy court is all but self-sustaining. Present fees here would, if covered into the treasury, pay most of the expenses of such a court. Had we it now, we would not be troubled with a confusion of tongues concerning the meaning of the law, or the spectacle of judicial officers of broad powers compelled to demand fees, indemnities and deposits, or go unpaid, and made ridiculous by statutory restrictions which cast suspicion upon their integrity if not upon their knowledge of the law.

But, whatever the ultimate disposition of the problem, business men, lawyers and legislators will not forget Daniel Webster's words in the Senate, in May, 1841, touching the evils due to the absence of a bankruptcy law:

> "The result is bad every way. It is bad to the public and the country, which loses the efforts and industry of so many useful and capable citizens. It is bad to creditors, because there is no security against preferences, no principle of equality, and no encouragement for honest, fair and seasonable assignments of effects."

The experience of the past two years has again demonstrated the errors inherent in the State system. If given a little time to overcome prejudice and prove its necessity, the federal system, when properly amended, has come to stay.

WILLIAM H. HOTCHKISS.

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THE SUBMARINE BOAT: ITS PROMISES AND PERFORMANCES.

BY REAR-ADMIRAL GEORGE W. MELVILLE, ENGINEER-IN-CHIEF OF THE UNITED STATES NAVY.

THE submarine boat permits the imaginative to create for their satisfaction and delight all manner of weird and pleasing fancies. A few of its advocates find an ineffable pleasure in picturing the charming sensation of travelling under sea without any of the dangers, annoyances, and discomforts that attend propulsion upon the waves and billows. Some derive happiness from the comforting dream that, for war purposes, the submarine will constitute our coast line of defense, such people believing the boat to be as mobile and active as a shark, and able to discharge accurately torpedoes that will be as destructive as the most carefully prepared mine of high explosives. But the vast majority of those who are enthusiastic as to the future of this type of boat look upon the weird side of the picture. These morbid persons see something very terrifying in this unseen and uncanny foe, which, operating wholly under water and guided by human intelligence, can send fleets of battleships to the bottom without suffering harm themselves. And as this fancy is dwelt upon, even a distinguished naval architect is made to say: "This boat performs in a way that can best describe it as a fish of steel with the brains of a man."

Allied with the imaginative are the sentimental in advocating the utility of the submarine boat. In the desire to make war so destructive and terrible that the nations will not dare to provoke hostilities, the sentimental see in the submarine craft a weapon which may be developed to a degree that will make war impossible.

The strength of the visionists and humanitarians has been supplemented by the endorsement of some able and distinguished

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naval officers, who believe that the submarine boat will play an important part in future wars, since such craft exercise a moral effect that will do much to disconcert and discourage the personnel of a blockading squadron. It is through the advocacy of these officers that the attention of the country has been concentrated upon this question. Good is sure to result from this agitation.

As a result of this discussion the seven Holland boats now under construction will be subjected to tests that will surely show the merits and weakness of this type of craft. The number that we are now building is sufficient for experimental purposes, and before the Congress will assemble again we shall have some positive information as to their value as fighting machines.

In regard to the favorable opinion expressed by several distinguished officers concerning submarines, Admiral O'Neil, the Chief of the Bureau of Ordnance of the Navy Department, who has had general charge of the Holland boat since she was turned over to the Government, declares:

"I recognize the fact that favorable comments have been made concerning the 'Holland,' by several eminent naval officers, for whose judgment I entertain the highest respect, but after a careful analysis of all the information that is obtainable concerning her, I am at a loss to understand upon what such opinions are based, as the 'Holland' has never shown the ability to do anything more than run at a slow speed on the surface and make submerged runs of short duration at much slower rate of speed, always, in carefully selected localities, and under most favorable conditions. This is the sum total of her performances, which I am unable to accept as sufficient evidence that such boats are useful and efficient instruments for naval purposes."

With many exceedingly aggressive forces arrayed in favor of the submarine, it can be expected that determined efforts will be made to construct more boats of this character. The majority of naval students and experts, however, are still agnostics upon the question, because they believe that there is nothing in the capabilities of the boat which have so far been demonstrated to justify its extended use. It is possible that the type may eventually be developed to a state of reliability and efficiency; but when the serious difficulties which must first be overcome are taken into consideration, it will be evident that that hope can be realized only after important improvements have been effected.

Nearly four hundred years have elapsed since a submarine craft was experimented with at Toledo, Spain, and it is possible

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that submarine navigation was seriously attempted even earlier. For over one hundred and twenty-five years, the world has had a boat which could be submerged and made to rise to the surface, and which could also be made to run either as a surface or submarine boat. At this time, we have, therefore, nothing to learn as to the fact that men can live and work under water. It may also be admitted that the crew can remain below for many hours. We also know that the boats can run under water at a slow speed. The submarine torpedo-boat of to-day is, practically, of the same design as that of a century ago. The present one is more efficient simply by reason of the fact that we now possess a lighter storage battery and can secure better material of construction, and also because the machine tool is able to turn out motors and auxiliaries which are cheaper, lighter, more compact, more reliable and more efficient than could ever be manufactured before. The promises of the past are thus nearer becoming performances. And this improvement in material and tool work really represents all the progress which has been made in the submarine torpedo-boat during a hundred years of development and experiment. The advance has been, therefore, along engineering rather than naval architectural lines.

Undoubtedly, the most careful study of the history of submarine boat construction has been made by Carl Busley, a noted German Marine Engineer and Naval Architect, who has published a monograph upon the subject, which was originally read before the German Society of Naval Architects and Marine Engineers, Berlin, Germany, in 1900. He commences in this manner:

"Of all the branches of ship construction, the ignorant have devoted most of their energy to the designing of submarine boats. According to my researches from the year 1861, in the former Prussian and the present German navies, I have found not less than 181 different designs of submarine boats which have been submitted, whose designers were in all branches of business excepting that of ship construction. It is strange in searching over these papers to note that ministers, teachers, students, bank clerks, railroad employees and other people in the peaceful walks of life, as well as simple mechanics, have devoted their time to the designing of a death-dealing submarine machine, which, after particularly fantastic performances by diving, must sink at least six lines of battleships. The explanation for the great attention paid to the designing of submarine boats by landsmen and for the great interest which the public at large will always take in such apparatus, lies, no doubt, in the fascination of horrors. Furthermore, it is noticeable what little interest in construction of this kind has been taken by legitimate builders and de-

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signers in the different shipyards of all countries in past years. Latterly, the navies of several countries have interested themselves in the question as to the outlook of the submarine boat in naval warfare; and, since then, the builders have taken a more earnest interest in the different questions, so that it is possible to tabulate the different qualities and properties which the modern submarine boat requires. Submarine vessels can be divided into two large groups: No. 1, actual submarine boats which are intended to be entirely submerged; No. 2, partially submerged boats which remain very close to the surface and from which only single parts, such as the look-out tower, project above. The older boats are mostly of the first class and the boats of modern construction are of the second class."

The inherent defects which confronted the inventors of a hundred years ago still exist in the submarine type. Broadly speaking, the craft is still without an eye to direct her movements. The compass on a submarine boat must, of necessity, be an unreliable instrument. As it must be placed near masses of iron or steel which are liable to be moved, there must be a constant change of directive force. When a torpedo is fired, when a spare one is placed in the tube, or when the conning tower hatch is put on, the compass must be affected. Extraneous influences, such as chain cables, vessels at anchor, or passing ships may cause a deflection of the compass.

In an electrically propelled boat, there is so much free magnetism flying about that the compass must be of little use. It is to be remembered that the standard compass in an ordinary steel ship stands on the bridge, or on a tripod high above the hull; but in the submarine boat, the compass is inside—within, so to speak, the very body of a magnet, with all sorts of consequent and inconsequent poles.

The French boats are probably superior to all others in their ability to navigate. If any reliance can be placed on newspaper accounts, the French have perfected the Periscope to such a degree that it is now a fairly reliable instrument for the purpose intended. It is claimed that with this instrument, no matter at what depth, the commander can secure an absolutely faithful and detailed image of all that is taking place on the surface. As the tube of the Periscope must be in length as many feet as the boat is submerged, and as its top rests on the surface while the boat is moving beneath the water, any floating object on the surface may break off the end of the tube. As a matter of fact, however, some form of the Periscope has been tried at intervals for a decade and has been discarded by experts after short use.

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Practically, but little advance has been made in securing increased stability. There can be little or no longitudinal stability in any boat which is designed to dive like a porpoise. Transverse stability can be secured, but longitudinal cannot be gotten without making sacrifices which would seriously interfere with the boat's efficiency. The discharge of a torpedo would instantly be followed by the rise of the boat's bow. It is true that there are compensating tanks to make up for the weights removed by the discharge of the torpedo. But the torpedo is shot out almost instantly, while an appreciable time must be required to fill the compensating tanks, and so, of necessity, there must be a tendency for the vessel to stand on end. Practically, therefore, the torpedo must be fired when the submarine is at rest. Careful investigation fails to show that one torpedo was ever fired with accuracy while the boat and target were in motion. So far as the "Holland" is concerned, it has been officially stated:

"That her efficiency with respect to torpedo practice is practically unknown, as only two torpedoes have been launched from her, one of which failed to run, and the other was at a fixed and not at a *moving target.*"

Much has been written about the speed of the vessel, and yet there is no evidence that any submarine boat has ever been able, on a submerged run, to secure a six-knot speed for three successive hours. Even on her official *surface* endurance trial, the "Holland" averaged only 5 2-3 knots speed. The friends of the submarine craft are very fond of quoting surface runs of their own boat, or the records made by a "submersible" boat, when recounting the advantages and performances of the submarine type. But the "submersible"—which cannot completely immerse itself, but only submerges its hull, leaving exposed a portion of the dome—is simply a special launch or vidette boat. In its invisibility, the submersible may be mistaken for a submarine. It is in the direction of the submersible boat that we can probably look for a powerful weapon, and we should keep our eyes open to that fact.

Some remarkable statements have been made as to the time required to submerge and raise this type of boat. In any boat where there is but little reserve buoyancy, care must of necessity be exercised in adding, removing or shifting weights. Therefore, in filling and blowing out the submerging tanks, which hold at least twelve tons of water, a considerable period of time must be required.

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The work of filling boilers direct from the sea and "blowing down" is very familiar to marine engineers. This operation must be done gradually, otherwise there is serious danger of the sea and boiler-joints becoming ruptured. And the same precautions must be taken in filling and blowing down the submerging tanks of any submarine.

It is simply a mechanical impossibility for the "Holland" to be safely submerged to even a depth of ten feet in less than one minute. Of course, she can be sunk by an enemy or ill-disposed person in less time, but it is not the purpose of her designers to have her own crew perform this evolution. It is also possible, when the boat is practically awash, to submerge her to a few feet more in depth in a comparatively short time, but, when in that position, the wake of the boat might make her presence known, and the projectile from even a machine gun would sink her.

The performance of the "Holland" in diving has been carefully watched by others than her owners. In submerging her, it may be only a few seconds from the time the conning tower is dimly visible until that structure disappears. When the boat has to sink after a surface run, sufficient time should be allowed for the motor to cool, and for the boat to be cleared of the gases.

When the French Minister of Marine inspected the submarine boat "Gustave Zede" at Cherbourg in December last, it took nine minutes to submerge that craft.

It is all very well to talk about using the horizontal rudders for causing boats of the "Holland" type to dive and rise, but the fact that the submerging tanks have to be filled with 3,300 gallons of water before the horizontal rudders will act efficiently, shows that these rudders are practically inoperative near the surface.

As the modern submarine is a spindle filled with mechanical appliances, it is of importance to inquire as to the efficiency and installation of these machines. It is because these appliances are constantly giving trouble when subjected to official tests, that it can be asserted that the boats are still in an experimental state. It may, therefore, be well at this time to refer briefly to the character of the installation of the various motors and auxiliaries.

In using three distinct systems of mechanical energy, many of the submarine torpedo-boats have an inherent weakness. In the "Holland," a small boat of 75 tons, gasoline, electricity, and compressed air are used for different purposes.

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Gasoline is extremely liable to explode. At least one of its products of combustion is extremely dangerous to life. It is very attenuated, and therefore a great searcher. If there is a defective joint, or pipe, or leaky valve, the gasoline will find it.

During the official speed endurance trial of the "Holland," after the armature of the motor burnt out, it became necessary to start the gas-engine without the assistance of the electric motor. To secure the requisite amount of air for insuring an explosion at the start, recourse was had to the reduced air-pressure in the pipes. It took at least twelve minutes to start the engine in this way. During the effort, there was a slight discharge of the gas into the hull from some improper working of the valve. Even from this small leakage, the machinist in charge became much distressed.

In a boat of the character of the "Holland," it must be difficult to keep the electric motors in a high state of efficiency. The compartment must of necessity be damp, and therefore drops of water are likely to fall on every part of the motors. Salt water is liable also to fall down the hatches and ventilators, thus menacing the dynamos and storage batteries.

The air flasks may be an element of danger, since they are charged to a pressure of 2,000 pounds. The explosion of any one of these tanks would destroy the vessel. There are reducing valves for regulating this pressure; but any careless, inexperienced, or evil-disposed person might wreck the boat or cause a serious casualty by tampering with the reducing valves. These valves are so exposed that it will not be a difficult matter to alter them by any one possessing even an elementary knowledge of marine engineering.

The gas-engine is so closely installed to both electric motors that it will be a very difficult matter to do any extensive overhauling or make important repairs. In fact, the three appliances are so bunched together that it will take at least several working days to line up the shafts of this little craft.

There are three sets of gearing. The use of gearing on board any ship is at least inadvisable, for, no matter how strong the hull is made, there must be in a seaway some working of the vessel, and the gear is likely to break if it does not become impaired.

The noise in the engine-room is a serious disadvantage. The gas-engine is subjected to shock rather than to steady pressure, and therefore the engine pounds heavily. As all three sets of

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gearing are running continuously, there is considerable noise from that source.

Since the explosion of the gasoline is effected by a spark from an ignition storage battery, any accident to this battery would throw the gas engine out of operation. This may prove a serious weakness since the cells of the storage battery are in such an exposed position that they could be very easily impaired.

Despite these weaknesses of the "Holland," she possesses some value in her ability to possibly reach unseen the enemy's fleet, discharge her torpedo, and immediately disappear and get away. This invisibility can be almost entirely secured by the building of a semi-submerged boat, and since such a boat could have at least double the speed that could be given the submarine craft, her chances for getting in and away would be greatly increased.

Even though every existing type of submarine boat may thus have inherent weaknesses which prevent its being a practical fighting machine, yet it is the wish of every one connected with the Navy that development and improvement may take place.

Every nation that possesses or aspires to sea-power is only too anxious to adopt any new type of craft that may contribute to its naval strength. If the development of the submarine had made any substantial progress, it is to be presumed that the British Admiralty would have utilized this craft long before now. The British estimate of its usefulness may be measured by the manner in which her naval writers refer to the boat.

In the annual competition in 1900 for the prize of the Royal United Service Institution of Great Britain, the gold medallist wrote thus upon the matter; and the views of the author are practically those of the best informed officers of the Service:

"Submarine boats are a confession of weakness and by no means to be recommended for our own Navy, whatever foreigners may think about them. Both the Americans and Spaniards were in possession of boats of this class during the late war, but as neither attempted to make any use of them, we may perhaps be permitted to conclude that they did not think they were worth the trouble of transporting to the scene of action.

"Although a very large number of a variety of types have at different times been invented and experimented with, the results of their trials, though at the time often reported as eminently satisfactory, have never been such as to lead to their construction on any large scale. Their use, too, has been condemned for what now, perhaps, would be scoffed at as sentimental reasons. But it may be remembered that even Napoleon, who was not particularly troubled by

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scruples of this kind, refused to employ the fairly successful boat invented by the American, Fulton, against the British fleet, while his admiral, Decres, remarked that such craft 'were only fit for Algerines and pirates.'

"France, however, has several in hand at present, probably more with a view of pleasing the fancy of the public than from the real expectation that they will be of any particular value to her Navy."

Despite the fact that the Naval Lords are still sceptics upon this question, the Admiralty has been compelled to yield to the demand of many laymen that submarines be constructed. Five boats have been ordered, the first of which should be delivered in the autumn. Upon this action the Admiralty report says:

"What the future value of these boats may be in naval warfare can only be a matter of conjecture. Experiments with these boats will assist the Admiralty in assessing their true value. The question of their employment must be studied in all its developments, and their mechanism carefully watched in this country."

The policy of England, therefore, has been to build as few as possible to satisfy clamor, and yet a number sufficiently large to determine their true worth.

It is in France that the submarine has the most friends, and yet the total cost of all the boats built, in process of construction and authorized by the "Budget" will only approximately reach $3,000,000.

France has only four submarine boats actually in commission. These are the "Gymnote," "Gustav Zede," "Morse" and "Narval." Three more boats, the "Français," "Algerien" and "Farfadet," are about completed, and are almost ready for their official tests. According to *Le Yacht*, a French marine periodical which ought to be an authority on the question, only the seven above mentioned will be ready to go into commission in the year 1901.

In addition to the seven boats that are either in commission or about ready for their official tests, fifteen other submarine boats have been authorized or are building at Toulon, Cherbourg and Rochefort. As the United States ought to have eight submarine boats in commission before the end of 1901 (since it is stated by the Holland Company that their boats will even be completed by May), we shall actually be in advance of France by the end of this year in the number of boats that we shall have afloat.

Two of the boats that are being constructed for the French Navy were paid for by popular subscription conducted by the *Matin* of Paris. Only twenty-three, therefore, have been authorized at all times by the French Admiralty. Is it not reasonable

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to presume that, since the general public presented the nation with two of these boats, the Admiralty were compelled to recognize public sentiment, and that several other boats were authorized in response to this pressure.

The following résumé shows the actual condition of submarine boat construction in France at the present time. It will be observed that the cost per ton in France has never yet exceeded $1,100, although the Admiralty of that country demand a twelve-knot speed, and therefore a very large and costly installation of storage battery is required. In this country we are paying $1,500 per ton for a seven-knot boat, with a storage battery of less than one-third the power of the French type. May we not expect, therefore, when the construction of submarine boats is open to all competitors, that we can secure boats at less than two-thirds the price that we are now paying, since the storage battery is the most costly portion of the vessel?

Name.	Tonnage.	Ordered Built.	Laid Down.	Estimated Cost.
In commission:				
"Gymnote"	30			
"Gustave Zede"	266			
"Morse"	146			
"Narval"	106	June 1, 1898	Nov. 23, 1898	
About completed:				
"Français"	146	April 8, 1899	Oct. 3, 1899	$146,699.30
"Algerien"	146	April 8, 1899	Oct. 3, 1899	146,699.30
Under construction:				
"Sirene"	106	June 20, 1899	Aug. 28, 1900	119,177.50
"Triton"	106	June 20, 1899	Aug. 28, 1900	119,177.50
"Silure"	106	May 1, 1900		119,177.50
"Espadon"	106	May 1, 1900		119,177.50
"Farfadet"	185	Sept. 20, 1899	April 2, 1900	154,428.95
"Korrigan"	185	Sept. 27, 1899	April 23, 1900	154,428.95
"Gnome"	185	Sept. 27, 1899		154,428.95
"Lutin"	185	Sept. 27, 1899		154,428.95
Authorized by the Budget of 1901—				
Eight boats	106			Each 199,177.50

The Budget for 1902 provides for *three* boats of a *new* type. It would thus appear that not only is France dissatisfied with the performance of the boats now in commission, but it is also evident that she does not place too much reliance upon the design of those now in course of construction. Submarine boat construction, therefore, in France, cannot be said to have passed beyond the experimental stage.

The French Admiralty recognizes the fact that the best interests of the nation can be subserved by giving different inventors a chance to test their appliance. The motive power is, therefore, different in the various boats. In the "Narval" steam and elec-

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tricity are the motors; in the "Morse" electricity alone is the propelling force.

The French Admiralty officials must have been somewhat sceptical themselves as to the military advantages of these boats, otherwise it would not have been necessary for any Parisian journal to appeal to the general public for funds to construct any such boats. No evidence can be found that a popular subscription was needed to build either a battleship, armored cruiser, protected cruiser, or torpedo boat; in the construction of these practical fighting machines, the French Admiralty officials required no spurring from the general populace. It is not to be wondered at that the naval officials at London, Berlin and St. Petersburg repose very little confidence in the military importance of any type of boat whose most enthusiastical endorsement comes from a general public that must of necessity be unacquainted with the essential features of an innovation in naval construction.

The German Admiralty, in view of the attitude of both France and the United States, has been giving particular attention to this subject. Early in March, 1901, it was officially stated by Admiral von Tirpitz, the Naval Secretary, that he still adhered to his unfavorable opinion regarding submarine boats, and that the Naval Department would not construct a single one.

In the course of a lecture delivered early this year at the Military Casino by an officer of the Austrian Navy, it was contended that there is thus far little prospect of the submarine boat playing an important part in naval warfare, and it was maintained that Austria-Hungary therefore does well to await the results of further experiments before incurring expense for such vessels.

Even the most earnest advocate of this type gives excellent reasons why we should wait before authorizing the building of more boats.

Admiral Hichborn says:

"No vessel was ever built yet that there was not something in a second boat that could be an improvement."

Mr. Creecy, the representative of the Holland Company, says:

"They (the shipbuilders) will build the boats according to our plans; but they say, 'We will not guarantee the success of those plans'; so this company takes all the risk."

If the shipbuilders hold such views about the craft, is it surprising that others are not convinced that the boat is a finished product and successful war appliance?

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It is Constructor Lewis Nixon who asserts that the new boats will be an improvement upon the "Holland." If the trifling service performed by the "Holland" could suggest improvements so important in Mr. Nixon's judgment, why cannot we assume that, when eight of these boats are in commission, we shall be able to secure data which will permit us to design boats far superior to those already authorized?

For over eight years the Construction Board of the Navy Department has been carefully investigating the question, and it is its opinion that, before building any more boats, we should find out the capabilities of the seven that are now in the course of construction. As this Board is desirous of securing for the Navy every form of boat that possesses any military or strategic value, its members had a predilection to approve rather to condemn the submarine boat when the matter was first presented to them.

In 1892, the Board commenced to give careful consideration to the question of submarine boat construction. As a result of this investigation, the Congress authorized the construction of the "Plunger," a boat of the "Holland" type. This boat, after five years' work upon it, was abandoned as a hopeless failure by the Holland people, and now that company is building another to take its place. With the "Plunger" as a complete failure, and the "Holland" turning out less than a six-knot surface boat, the members of the Board are, naturally, a little more sceptical upon the question than they were even five years ago.

This Board has not been a conservative one, apprehensive of assuming responsibility, nor has it hesitated in adopting new appliances. It has awarded battleships to shipbuilding firms that have heretofore not even constructed cruisers. It has placed superposed turrets on the "Kearsarge," "Kentucky" and other battleships—an innovation that has not been attempted by any other naval power. Even in constructing submarine boats, it has taken a step in advance of any other nation, excepting France.

The Board of Construction has never imposed conditions upon the Holland Company, except such as were deemed reasonable by the builders themselves. The Board is much more desirous than any one else can possibly be of securing an efficient boat. It is not wedded to the belief that only one firm can construct them. Past experience convinces it that much is learned from official tests. The Board believes that when a spirited rivalry has been

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created between the commanders and crews of the several boats, information of the greatest value will be secured. For this reason, it is well satisfied that no additional boats should be authorized until at least several months after the boats now in course of construction shall have been placed in commission.

In case the Congress should conclude to authorize the building of any additional boats, the recommendation of the Board of Construction that no special type be specified should be carried out. The Secretary of the Navy should even be given discretion to contract for such boats as, in his judgment, are likely to prove most efficient and best suitable for naval purposes.

From a military standpoint, the field of submarine boat construction should be made as large as possible. Particularly should we strive, at least during the experimental stage, to encourage a spirited rivalry between inventors of radically different types. At the present time, the Lake Submarine Boat Company is exceedingly desirous of having an opportunity to compete for any new boats that may be authorized. Judging from the success secured by the boats of this type constructed for commercial purposes, we can certainly expect that this company is as capable as any other to make good any promises or obligations assumed. The Navy Department should be in a position to pit designer against designer, as well as builder against builder.

It would be extremely advisable to prescribe that at least one of the boats should be submersible only to the extent of having her conning tower awash. The Board of Construction has carefully and judicially studied this question, and now the members are satisfied that progress and success in the construction of submarine craft can only be secured by carefully analyzing the data that may be gathered from future official tests and experiments. From these data, important conclusions will be drawn which will undoubtedly cause marked changes from the present specifications. It is reasonable to presume, therefore, that, when any additional boats are authorized, the Department will be justified in imposing higher requirements than have even heretofore been demanded.

There is no mystery about any of the mechanical features of the submarine boat. To submerge her it is only necessary to run water from the sea into tanks at the bottom of the boat. To bring her to the surface these tanks must be emptied, and to do this compressed air from the storage flask is used. To cause her

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to run under water, there is a storage battery to supply the electric current for operating a motor which is geared to the propeller shaft. While under water, air is supplied to the crew for breathing purposes from the storage flasks.

Every operation for the navigation or propulsion of the boat can be effected by a commercial auxiliary, and these motors are of the most simple character. It is doubtful if a single important claim of any of the inventors would be sustained by an appellate court, in case any shipbuilding firm should care to utilize any apparently destructive appliance that is now installed on such boats.

Any shipbuilding plant that has constructed a torpedo boat will find it an easy matter to build a submarine, for the latter boat has comparatively more room for the installation of auxiliaries than the former. The hope of ultimate success for the submarine rests in the fact that, where there is a spirited and keen competition between inventors, there is sure to be progress in development. The submarine is not an expensive boat to build. A fleet of fifty could be built at the cost of a single battleship. To add ten of the best submarines to the Navy ought not to involve an expenditure of over one million dollars. Except so far as taking care that only a fair price is paid, the question of expense is of minor importance. If the boat has any military or strategic value, we should change our policy of ship construction, for nothing could justify the building of so many battleships if the submarine possessed even a portion of the advantages that her advocates claim.

In the indifference of naval officers to this question there is great danger. The boats are either valuable or they are worthless for military purposes. From the time that the Senate and House Naval Committees look with favor upon these boats, there will be a decreased construction of battleships; and the action of the Congress in striking out of the Naval Appropriation Bill of 1901 all authorization for battleships and cruisers can certainly, in part, be traced to the belief that the submarine possesses many of the qualities claimed by its advocates.

It is, therefore, high time that those who believe in the efficiency of the submarine should be compelled to make good a few of their promises. It is easy for them to tell of the vast amount of concentrated energy possessed by these boats, and of the ease with which this energy can be directed against an enemy. Con-

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centrated energy, however, is usually a very awkward thing to deal with, even on a battleship. Many details as to its handling will have to be solved before it can be efficiently and quickly used in a submarine. To be able to fire one torpedo from a submarine boat, after hours and even days of preparation, is far from promising work; nor has the craft proved more satisfactory as regards stability, speed, and manœuvering qualities.

There need be no haste in deciding this question. As the boats are neither costly, large, nor intricate, they can be built in six months. It is even claimed, that a premium for speed construction would induce shipbuilders to construct a submarine in three months. There ought to be fifty firms in this country able to construct these boats in case of necessity.

All nations are capable of possessing this boat as soon as they wish; consequently, there must be very little practical advantage in experimenting for the benefit of others. The principles governing the design are so simple that no nation can seriously consider its own plans as secret.

If submarines possess any military or strategic value, the Navy Department should formulate general requirements as to what will be considered acceptable boats. Shipbuilders should be told the limit as to tonnage, the speed demanded, the period of submersion, the requirements as to navigation, and the tests as to torpedo discharge. These are the five problems that have not been solved satisfactorily. Encouragement should be given to every firm that will enter upon such construction. Premiums should be offered for every advance that will be made in the solution of any phase of the question.

The submarine boat problem is something more than the building of a few vessels of that type. It may not only mean a change in naval construction, but a revolution in naval tactics, since submarines cannot fight submarines.

However sincere the builders of submarines may be, these men must of necessity give *ex parte* testimony as to the worth of their own designs. Therefore, the Naval Construction Board and the Secretary of the Navy should be sustained in their contention that performances, and not promises, should be the factors in determining the advisability of building more of these boats, as well as the character and type of the craft best suited to our needs.

GEORGE W. MELVILLE.

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A CURIOUS HUMAN DOCUMENT.

BY DR. LOUIS ROBINSON, AUTHOR OF "WILD TRAITS IN TAME ANIMALS."

In the days of our grandfathers, Philosophy, now more commonly known as Physical Science, was held guilty of clipping angels' wings, of unravelling rainbows, and generally playing the Vandal among the airy castles of romance.

Latterly, she seems to have mended her ways, and, indeed, seems eager to atone for past mischief; for we often find her employed in weaving entrancing histories, more wonderful than the romances of the poets, out of the most prosaic and unpromising materials. Thus, she will take a spadeful of garden mold, and not only evolve from it a wondrous tale concerning vast floods of molten lava, of mountains which have sunk and vanished, of rivers and oceans long since dry, and of stupendous dragons which once thronged the earth, but, in its tiny, living inhabitants, she shows us "a little people exceeding wise," who have succeeded in solving many social problems which the most civilized governments are still wrestling with in vain.

One effect of this change upon general opinion is that a noteworthy respect has grown up for many things which most of our forefathers regarded as "common or unclean," and which the *literati* of their day deemed too utterly contemptible to occupy a genteel intelligence.

Can you imagine, for instance, a literary magazine, two or three generations ago, publishing a philosophical essay upon corns? However much the editor might declare, in rotund Latin, that he was a man, and hence that nothing relating to man was a matter of indifference to him, he would assuredly have tabooed a discussion on corns—in spite of a poignant, personal interest taken therein by nearly all his readers. To-day, as this article

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testifies, such matters are no longer treated as beneath our dignity; for we have learned that even the most trifling details of the human frame may prove valuable records of the early history of the race. In fact, as I hope to show in the following pages, every corn is an extremely ancient historical record, which is well worthy of careful examination.

In the standard works on Surgical Pathology, corns are, of course, described in considerable detail; but hitherto little seems to have been written as to their primary cause and origin, and nothing whatever as to their historical significance. They are usually classed among diseases of the skin, and are spoken of as a common cause of lameness; yet, there can be no doubt that, in the first place, they were not only distinctly advantageous possessions, but that their special function was to prevent lameness.

If we would understand how this odd perversion has been brought about, we must, firstly, bear in mind that the period during which man, by completely encasing his feet in hard boots, has become a sort of *amateur ungulate*, is very short indeed compared with the immeasurable epoch during which he wore no foot-covering at all. In those ancient days, also, when every man was a hunter who had to pursue game afoot—and was in danger of starvation if he did not succeed—pedestrianism was of much greater importance in the economy of life than it is now. Secondly, we must remember that little or no change has taken place in man's physical framework since those remote times when he was an absolute savage. Thirdly, Nature's methods of meeting physical emergencies, as applied to man, are appropriate, not to his recent, and, as yet, brief environment of civilization (and boots), but to the state of universal bootlessness which prevailed throughout the long stone ages.

Every one knows nowadays that the integument of the body is composed of two chief layers. The deeper part is called the *dermis*, or true skin, and consists of a fibrous network containing abundant blood-vessels and nerves. This is the part which is formed into leather when a hide is tanned. The thin, superficial layer, the *epidermis*, is of a horny character, and, under the microscope is seen to be built up of little cells, looking something like the bricks in a wall. These are round and soft where they are deep and close to the *dermis*, but they become flatter, drier and harder as they near the outside; and, by and by, having been ex-

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posed to the wear and tear on the surface, they peel off, and are replaced by others from below. Now, wherever the skin has to bear an extra amount of friction, these horny cells collect more rapidly than elsewhere, because, if such were not the case, the protective covering would soon be worn through. As long as the wear at such a spot is not very great, the layers of new cells ascending from below are more or less horizontal, like the bricks in a wall. But when friction increases at some particular spot, so that a much greater number of horny cells are required to protect the tender tissues beneath, what is done to meet the emergency? As soon as such a need arises, little folds, or mounds, appear in the region where the new "bricks" are manufactured, which increase the extent of the surface from which these are given off, thus causing a great addition to the output. But in this process, as in all manufacturing processes, an increased output involves both increased material and careful superintendence. Hence, in each of these little undulations upon the vascular *dermis,* there spring up loops of new blood-vessels to convey supplies to the spot, and these are always accompanied by delicate and sensitive nerve-branches, whose duty it is to report progress, and to give orders, as it were, how the work is to be carried on.

The result of such a state of affairs can generally be seen upon the palm of the hand where it is exposed to friction, although here, as a rule, a slightly waved surface avails to produce enough horny scales to meet the loss of tissue caused by manual labor. If you wish to see a good example of small mounds, or *papillae,* which increase the cell-manufacturing area where friction is great, examine the bottom of a dog's paw, and you will find it densely crowded with a mass of horny cones (usually worn away at the apex), each of which is based on a vascular *papilla.*

Now, of course, the superficial wear and tear of the naked human foot is much greater than that of the hand. Hence, one not only finds abundant provision for the manufacture of hard and tough skin all over the sole and toes, but, if any one part of the foot is especially exposed to rub or pressure, little mounds or *papillae* form there like those on the foot of a dog.

As long as man ran barefoot, all went extremely well. If one part of the foot, owing to some personal peculiarity of gait or habit, wore away faster than the rest, and was in danger of becoming abraded, that fact alone caused small *papillae,* filled with

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active blood-vessels and nerves, to spring up at the threatened spot, so that horny cells were produced in great abundance. Hence, any primitive savage who habitually rubbed one part of his foot in climbing to his rock shelter, was protected from consequent disablement; and if, through some change in his habits, another part became chafed more than the rest, the new need was met in a precisely similar fashion No accumulation of this thickened cuticle took place at such a spot, because it was rasped away by the wear and tear of locomotion just as rapidly as it was formed.

Now, let us see what takes place under modern conditions. As I have said above, civilized man has found it expedient to mimic the ungulate quadrupeds, by encasing his feet in stout coverings somewhat resembling hoofs. Even if these fitted perfectly, the enclosed feet would be subjected to conditions of wear and pressure which they were not constructed to sustain. Unfortunately, like all things constructed by human art, our artificial hoofs share the imperfections of their makers. Under the stimulus of undue local pressure caused by an ill-fitting shoe, certain nerves (forming the intelligence department of the disturbed region) become excited, and send an alarming report to headquarters.

Now, whether the blame rests with the small nerves who send the report, or with the big central department which receives and interprets it, I cannot say; but, in some way or other, a gross blunder is committed, which, both from its nature and from the difficulty one finds in tracing it home, calls to mind certain recent achievements of our controllers of warlike stores. For the sake of our argument on this occasion, let us adopt the usual policy of putting all possible blame upon the lesser officials. What happens in such an event as we are discussing may be put somewhat as follows: From the spot "where the shoe pinches," a message is dispatched along the conducting nerves to the central bureau: "Much friction here. Send help at once or skin will be abraded."

There is no delay in responding to this appeal. Help soon arrives, in the shape of large reinforcements of blood corpuscles, both red and white, and roads are at once made (by the outgrowth of *papillae* containing new blood-vessels) for their approach to the threatened region. Moreover, the intelligence department ap-

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points fresh and zealous local agents, in the shape of sensitive nerve-fibres, to accompany the relief expedition.

But, alas! in spite of all the zeal shown, and all the energy expended, one venerable and obsolete system, and one only, is employed on all occasions when such emergencies have to be met. Vast numbers of wear-resisting cells are manufactured and are piled up around each new *papilla* (something like sandbags encircling a redoubt), and are pushed forward in the direction of the supposed danger. Hence, a rapid accumulation of the cuticle takes place over the spot "where the shoe pinches"; and this being artificially protected from attrition from without, continues to thicken, until it causes a severe aggravation of the pressure upon the tender parts below. The nerves in the advanced *papillae* become acutely aware that matters are going from bad to worse, and send agonized appeals for further relief to headquarters. Our central repair department, still taking it for granted that the chief thing it fears—namely, abrasion of the surface—is taking place in spite of all that has been done, redoubles its former efforts. Fresh supplies are hurried to the front, and the local authorities are instructed to increase the pile of horny cells, at the spot where the pressure is greatest, by every means permitted by the laws of Nature.

As a result, the thickened cuticle over each new *papilla,* instead of being rasped away, as in the case of the barefoot savage, is at first heaped up upon the surface like one of the horny cones covering a dog's paw. But, being unable to get any further in an outward direction, on account of the unyielding boot, it presses inward upon the tender and vascular tissues of the *papilla* itself, and at length penetrates them in the form of an inverted cone of corneous matter. By this time, that slow-moving Autocrat of All the Body whom we call "I," and who, as a rule, knows even less about the workings of his remote frontier departments than does the Czar of Russia himself, finds it impossible to stand the thing any longer; so he removes his boot, and takes the matter in hand (more or less) *secundum artem.* But, whatever he may think or do, and however much he may assert his sovereign rights over his own extremities, he gets no help or countenance whatever from his staff of permanent officials, who obstinately and insolently continue to make believe that their lord is still a wild savage, running barefoot in the woods.

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It will now be easy to understand the pathological distinction which surgeons draw between corns and callosities. Corns, they say, are persistent, and tend to grow inward and penetrate the deeper tissues; whereas callosities, such as those on the hands of workmen, grow outward, and readily peel off. But, although the real explanation of this fact is not to be found in the best known works on surgery, the usual treatment recommended for a corn—the scraping or cutting away of the superfluous cuticle, and various means for relieving the spot from pressure—are undoubtedly correct from the historic standpoint.

We may see from this that it will not do blindly to "trust to Nature," in medical and surgical emergencies, until we have succeeded in convincing Nature as to the existence and worth of the appliances of modern civilization. In the case in point, I fear there is no prospect whatever of her changing her methods, unless, during the course of many hundred generations, those with corns should be steadily eliminated as "unfit"; so that, at length, the whole surviving population can wear ill-fitting footgear with impunity.

Every one who has used unshod horses or oxen, or who has employed sheep dogs on rough and stony ground, is aware that, in wet seasons, the natural horny coverings of the feet tend to become softened, and to wear away more rapidly than when the weather is dry. Like modern savages living on perishable food, our barefoot forefathers must have been obliged to go a-hunting in all weathers: and, such being the case, they, in common with horses and dogs, needed an especially rapid growth of sole-material during the rainy season. Now, it is demonstrable that Nature has made elaborate provision for this very need in the case of most animals.

A careful examination of numerous stabled horses and indoor dogs has shown that, in spite of their protected state, there is a tendency toward the increased growth of the horny covering of the feet, not only during the more rainy periods of the year, but at any time when a spell of wet weather is impending. What the influence actually is that provokes such profound changes in the circulation and nutrition of the extremities as this process involves, we are not able to determine. Probably, sensitiveness of the nervous system to barometric pressure has something to do with it; but I am inclined to think that many living organisms

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have quite other means, of which we know nothing, for foretelling the approach of rain. When we take into account the marvellous weather-wisdom displayed by many creatures—notably the apes on the Rock of Gibraltar—which, by their action, show that they are aware of the approach of changes before the barometer or the wind-vane gives the least sign of warning, we must admit that the animal body is, after all, an infinitely more delicate meteorological apparatus than any which has been invented by men of science.

Now, can we, by turning again to our "documents," find any trace of such endowments in ourselves? Are we not all aware, either from individual experience, or from common hearsay, that, when rain is threatened, corns "shoot"? The real meaning of this phenomenon should be plain enough to every one who has followed the preceding arguments. Under normal conditions, increased sensitiveness in any part of the human frame is proof of increased vital activity. It means that the local nerves, which represent the intelligence department, and control nutrition, are especially on the alert. Pain, from whatever cause arising, is invariably a proof of nerve irritation, and is usually the result of tension or pressure. Hence, when corns "shoot" on the approach of damp weather, we owe the sharp, throbbing pain then experienced partly to a sudden increase of activity in the vascular and sensitive *papillae*, and partly to a rapid growth of the cuticle which already presses upon them—the whole being due to the fact that some senile and weather-wise commissary at headquarters, who does not believe in boots, having been appointed several thousand centuries before such things were thought of, is making provision against a rainy day.

LOUIS ROBINSON.

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BABISM.

BY E. DENISON ROSS, PROFESSOR OF PERSIAN IN UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, LONDON.

THE general reader's knowledge of Persia and things Persian is usually limited to the bare facts that the country is ruled by a Shah, and that in times past it has produced one or two poets. Some know that Mohammedanism is there the prevalent religion; but beyond such knowledge few have penetrated. Considering, then, the limitations of our general knowledge on the subject of Persia, it is a matter of small wonder that a religious movement in that country, however great its magnitude, and however far-reaching its consequences, should escape the attention of the Western world.

In the present article, we have to deal with no mere religious reformation, but with the foundation and rise, in the middle of the nineteenth century, of a new faith. In its early history, as we shall see, it has much in common with Christianity, as also in the matter of doctrine, emphasizing, as it does, the brotherhood of man, and aspiring to an universal reign of peace, love, freedom and unity of belief.

In tracing the origin and rise of any religion whatsoever, it is, where possible, fitting to examine the religion or religions which have been in vogue at its birth; for these have, of necessity, always served as a starting point for a new dispensation. Thus, for example, for the proper understanding of Mohammedanism, it is Judaism (not of the Torah, but of the Talmud), Christianity (chiefly of the Apocryphal Gospels) and Sabæanism, which we must study. In the case of Bābism, we must examine Mohammedanism from the Shiite standpoint, and beyond this a movement known as Shaykhism, which, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, grew out of the Shiite faith. In order, however, fully to

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appreciate the exact position of Shaykhism, and in its turn of Bābism, in their relation to Islam, it will be fitting to explain, in as few words as possible, the main points of divergence between Shiism, the state religion of Persia, and Sunnism, or Orthodox Mohammedanism, as practiced in Turkey, Egypt, India and elsewhere. The divergences in teaching which divide these two factions are more sharply indicated than those which separate Protestants from Roman Catholics, and their mutual hostility is also greater. The principal difference, as is well known, lies in the recognition, or otherwise, of all the early successors of Mohammed as Vicars of God on earth. The Sunnis recognize the claims of the first four Caliphs, Abu Bakr, Omar, Othman and Ali, while the Shiites maintain that Ali and his descendants were the only lawful successors. The Omayyad Caliphs and their successors, the Abbasids, are duly cursed by the Shiites, not merely as usurpers, but even more vehemently for having put to death or persecuted as many as they could of the house of Ali. Thus there arose two rival dynasties—the Caliphs of the Sunni faction and the Imams of the Shiite; the former claiming both temporal and spiritual power over the Sunni church, while the Imams are reverenced as saints, and even worshipped by the Shiites. According to the orthodox Shiites, there were twelve Imams, of whom eleven lived and died on earth; whereas the twelfth, who is known as the Imam Mahdi, disappeared and remains hidden until such time as he shall reappear and inaugurate the millennium. The person of this Imam was, from the first, enveloped in mystery. According to Shiite belief, he disappeared from the eyes of men in the year 940 A. D., and retired to the mysterious city of Jabulka, where he still lives. At first, he continued to communicate with the faithful through the medium of certain chosen persons, who were known by the name of Bāb or Gate. Of these Bābs, there were four in succession, and the period during which they acted as the temporary guides of the faithful is known as the "Lesser Occultation." On the death of the fourth Bāb, this apostolic succession came to an abrupt end, and thus began the period known as the "Greater Occultation."

In the course of centuries, many various sects and schools had grown out of the Shiite creed, and among these was Shaykhism, which originated early in the nineteenth century in the teaching of a certain Ahmed Ahsai. Space will not permit us to enter

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into the details of his teaching. Suffice it to say that it was characterized, first, by a veneration for the Imams which in intensity surpassed that of the most devout Shiites; and, secondly, by a doctrine known as that of the "Fourth Support," which maintained that there must always be amongst the Shiites some "perfect man," capable of serving as a channel of grace between the Hidden Imam and his church. Shaykh Ahmed was succeeded at his death by Hajji Sayyid Kazim, who held largely attended conferences at Kerbela, the principal place of veneration and object of pilgrimage of the Shiites. Now, amongst those who attended the lectures of Sayyid Kazim was a young man of Shiraz, named Mirza Ali Mohammad, who, though very reserved in manner, attracted the attention of his teacher by his earnestness and grave demeanor. Born of a good family, he had apparently enjoyed the advantages of a distinguished education; he showed a great predilection for the occult sciences, the philosophic theory of numbers and the like. He, furthermore, had opportunities of intercourse with the Jews of Shiraz, and through Protestant missionary translations he became acquainted with the Gospels. He was strikingly handsome, and his charms of speech and manner were, it appears from all accounts, irresistible. At the age of twenty-two he married; and by his marriage had one son, who died in infancy. He was at this period settled in business at Bushire; and, from that port of the Persian Gulf, he went to Kerbela and attended, as we have said, the conferences of Sayyid Kazim. Here he remained for a few months, and then departed as suddenly as he had come, returning to Shiraz. Not long after this, Sayyid Kazim died, without, however, nominating a successor; and this fact, as will be seen, is of the utmost importance in the history of the Bāb.

Shortly after Sayyid Kazim's death, a certain Mulla Husayn of Bushrawayh, who had attended the Sayyid's lectures at the same time as Mirza Ali Mohammad, came to Shiraz, and, as was only natural, took that opportunity of visiting his former fellow-student. The two at once fell to talking of the death of their lamented teacher, and referred to the strange words he had spoken as death was approaching: "Do you not desire that I should go, so that the Truth may become manifest?" though he gave no hint of the manner in which the Truth should be revealed. At this point in the conversation, Mirza Ali Mohammad, to the utter

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amazement of his friend, suddenly declared that he himself was the promised guide, the new intermediary between the Hidden Imam and the faithful; in short, that he was the Bāb, or "Gate," through which men might communicate with the Imam Mahdi. Mulla Husayn, though at first inclined to doubt, soon came to believe in the truth of this declaration with a faith that thenceforth remained unshaken. This manifestation and conversion of the first disciple took place on May 23d, 1844, almost exactly one thousand years after the "Lesser Occultation." Mulla Husayn at once began to spread the "good news" among the followers of Sayyid Kazim, many of whom immediately set out for Shiraz, so that very soon there was gathered round the Bāb a devoted band of believers, which included, besides the followers of Sayyid Kazim, others who were attracted by the new faith. The various kinds of persons who were thus attracted may be summed up as follows:

1. The Shaykhis.
2. Shiites, who believed that the Bāb's teaching was the fulfilling of the Koran.
3. Men who saw in it a hope of national reform.
4. Sufis and mystics.

To these four classes we may add to-day:

5. Those to whom the life and teaching of the Bāb and Beha appeal in a general way; and among these must be numbered those Western converts who do not fall under the next head.
6. Those who regard Bābism as a fulfillment of Christianity.

At this period the Bāb had already written several works, and these were now eagerly perused by his disciples, who, from time to time, were also "privileged to listen to the words of the Master himself, as he depicted in vivid language the worldliness and immorality of the Mullas, or Mohammedan clergy, and the injustice and rapacity of the civil authorities," and the like. He further prophesied that better days were at hand. At this time, however, he did not openly attack Islam.

Thus do we find Mirza Ali Mohammad in the first stage of his mission, setting forth claims to be the Bāb or channel of grace between the Imam Mahdi and his church, and inveighing against the corruptions of the clergy and the government, by whom he naturally came to be regarded with suspicion and dislike. Not long after his Manifestation, when his fame had

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already spread throughout the country, he set out to perform the pilgrimage to Mecca. It was probably in the Holy City itself that he, once and for all, freed himself from the Prophet's Faith, and conceived the thought of "ruining this faith, in order to establish in its place something altogether differing from it." He returned from Mecca in August, 1845, possessed of more definite aims and ideals with regard to his own mission. Meanwhile, the clergy and the government had determined that the movement was dangerous, and that it bade fair to become more so. Active measures must, therefore, be taken for its suppression, while this was yet an easy matter. Several of the Báb's disciples were, accordingly, seized in Shiraz, and, having been bastinadoed, they were warned to desist from preaching. On landing in Bushire, the Báb was arrested and brought to Shiraz, where he underwent an examination by the clergy in the presence of the governor of that town. He was pronounced a heretic, and ordered to remain in his house until further orders. No very strict watch was, however, kept over him, and, like St. Paul before him, he was visited by and conferred with the faithful.

In the spring of 1846, he escaped to Ispahan, where he remained under the protection of the governor of that town. In the following year, this governor died, and his successor in office immediately sent the Báb in the direction of Teheran under an armed escort. The Shah's ministers, however, deeming that the Báb's presence in the capital might prove dangerous, gave orders that he should be taken off to the distant frontier-fortress of Maku, where he composed a great number of works and was in constant correspondence with his followers. In order to put a stop to this correspondence and to set him in closer confinement, the Báb was removed to Chihrik, whence not long after he was summoned to Tabriz, to undergo examination by some of the leading clergy in the presence of the Crown Prince (afterward Shah Nasir-ud-Din). This examination was, of course, a pure farce and the verdict a foregone conclusion. His inquisitors hoped to catch him tripping, but their victim drove them to exasperation by the attitude of dignified silence which he adopted toward their bullying questions. Finally, they ordered him to be beaten and sent back to Chihrik, where he was now subjected to such close confinement that he was only able to communicate with his followers by means of the most peculiar devices: scraps of

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paper were, for example, concealed among sweetmeats, or wrapped in waterproof and sunk in milk.

While he was confined in Chihrik his teaching underwent some development, for he now declared himself to be not merely the Gate leading to the Imam Mahdi, but to be the Point of Revelation, the Imam himself. What he had hitherto preached in parables only, he would now openly proclaim. He declared that his mission was not final, and spoke of one yet greater than himself who should come after, and should be "He whom God shall manifest." He laid great stress on this point, and expressed an urgent desire that men should receive the next Manifestation better than they had received this one. He further added: "They are to remember that no revelation is final, but only represents the measure of truth which the state of human progress has rendered mankind capable of receiving."

We cannot, within the space of an article, enter into the question of the philosophic theory of numbers which played so important a part in Bābi tenets. It must, however, be mentioned that the number 19, from a variety of causes, is held in especial esteem among them. Thus, the year, in the Bāb's reformed calendar, was composed of nineteen months of nineteen days each, and so forth. And thus, too, he elected among his followers eighteen chosen disciples, whom he called the "Letters of the Living," of whom he, the nineteenth, was the "Point of Unity" which completed the sacred number. There was a sort of apostolic succession among these "Letters," so that when one died some other Bābi was appointed to his place. The Bāb composed about a dozen works in all, the most important of which was the *"Bayan,"* a work containing a precise statement of all the doctrines taught by him during the final stage of his mission. It was in fact the Bābi Bible.

Leaving the Bâb for a while in the prison of Chihrik, we must turn to consider the fortunes and misfortunes of his now numerous followers. Of the eighteen chosen "Letters," three fill a most conspicuous place in the early history of the Bābi movement: namely, Mulla Husayn of Bushrawayh, who, as we have seen, was the first convert to the new faith; Mohammad Ali of Balfarush, and a woman named Kurrat ul-Ayn or "Coolth o' the Eyn." To no one does Bābism owe more for its spread throughout Persia than to Mulla Husayn, who, during the Bāb's con-

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finement in prison, travelled the whole country over carrying the New Gospel: visiting, in turn, Ispahan, where he met with much success; Kashan, with like result; Teheran, whence he was expelled; Nishapur, where he made numberless converts, and Meshed, where he was seized by the Shah's uncle. He managed, however, to escape to Nishapur, whence he set out westwards with an ever-increasing band of followers.

This was in 1848, a year as eventful almost in Persia as it was in the states of Europe. The clergy were becoming more and more fearful of the growth of the Bābi movement, and bitterness on both sides was rapidly increasing; and it must be admitted that the Bābis, in the excess of their zeal, did not hesitate to employ the most insulting language toward the orthodox Shiites. Hostilities seemed inevitable, and the Mullas were apparently on the point of striking the first blow, when, suddenly, in September, 1848, Mohammad Shah died; and, the minds of the Mullas being filled with thoughts of succession and possible political revolts, the Bābis were for a moment forgotten. Mulla Husayn, profiting by this temporary preoccupation of the Mullas, saw fit to proceed into Mazanderan and effect a junction of his followers with those of Mulla Mohammad Ali of Balfarush, who had, in the meantime, been actively and successfully carrying on the propaganda of the new faith in that province. We must now pass to the summer of 1849, when we find Mulla Husayn and his followers shut up within the rude earthworks and palisades of a spot known as Shaykh Tabarsi, on the slopes of the Elburz Mountains, bidding defiance to the Shah's troops. For eight long months did this gallant band of Bābis, brought up for the most part, it must be remembered, to peaceful pursuits, hold the royal army at bay. At length, their brave leader, Mulla Husayn, having been killed, and their provisions exhausted, they surrendered conditionally to their besiegers, who promised them life and liberty. But the royalist officers put them all to the sword. Soon after this brutal suppression of the revolt in Mazanderan, a similar scene was enacted at Zanjan, in the northwest of Persia; the same story is repeated of bravery, starvation and death. While the siege of Zanjan was still in progress, another Bābi rising took place in the south of Persia, and the government, being thoroughly alarmed, determined to strike at the root of the matter, and to put the Bāb to death.

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We left the Bāb in prison at Chihrik. He was now, once more, brought to Tabriz and tried by judges who were bent on his condemnation. The proceedings were as farcical and undignified as those to which he had been subjected on a former occasion. In spite of all their threats, he persistently maintained that he was the Imam Mahdi. His judges objected to his claims, on the ground that the Imam, whose return they awaited, would come as a mighty conqueror, to slay and subdue infidels and establish Islam throughout the world. To this the Bāb replied: "In this manner have the Prophets always been doubted. The Jews were expecting the promised Messiah when Jesus appeared in their midst; and yet they rejected and slew him, because they fancied the Messiah must come as a great conqueror and king, to re-establish the faith of Moses, and give it currency throughout the world."

The Bāb and his followers, no doubt, knew as well as his judges that his sentence was predetermined; it cannot, however, be doubted that the authorities entertained some hopes of making the Bāb recant by means of threats or promises. At length, finding these of no avail, they passed the fatal sentence, and the Bāb was led back to prison, to spend his last night in company with two faithful disciples, who were condemned to die with him.

On the morning of July 9th, 1850, Mirza Ali Mohammad the Bāb, Aka Mohammad Ali and Sayyid Husayn of Yezd were dragged through the crowded streets and bazaars of Tabriz. This pitiful procession lasted many hours, in the course of which Sayyid Husayn fell to the ground from exhaustion and pain. He was then told that, should he now recant, he might have his pardon. Thereupon—whether in a moment of weakness, or, as the Bābis declare, at the command of the Bāb himself, in order that he might convey a last message from the Master to the faithful—he bought his pardon at the price of renunciation of the cause, and escaped to Teheran, where two years later he suffered martyrdom.

On the arrival of the two prisoners at the spot appointed for their execution, they were suspended, by means of ropes passed under their armpits, to staples set in a wall. As the order was given to fire the first volley, the Bāb was heard to say to his companion: "Verily, thou art with me in Paradise!" But when the smoke of the volley, which had temporarily hidden the two

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victims, cleared away, it was discovered that while the body of Aka Mohammad Ali hung lifeless from the staples, riddled with bullets, the Báb had disappeared, and the ends of the cords which had supported him were alone visible, the cords having been severed by bullets just above where the victim's arms had been. Here seemed to be a miracle indeed. The crowd began to murmur their expression of amazement and were prepared to believe anything. Had the Báb managed at this moment to get away to some place of concealment, he would immediately have added to his following the whole population of Tabriz, and soon after the whole of Persia. The destinies of the house of Kajar, nay, of Islam itself, hung in the balance against the New Faith. Unfortunately, however, for his cause, the Báb had no time to realize this; he was as much surprised as the people, and instead of attempting to hide, he ran by a first impulse to the neighboring guard-house, where he was soon discovered. Even now, for a few moments, the people were still ready to believe in a miracle; no one dared approach him, for was not his person inviolate? The situation was, however, saved, as situations so often are saved, by the action of a headstrong fool. A soldier, catching sight of the Báb, rushed in upon him and dealt him a blow with his sword; and, so soon as the people saw blood flowing from the wound thus inflicted on the unresisting victim, their doubts and fears were at an end, and the Báb's death was soon accomplished. Thus died the great Prophet-Martyr of the nineteenth century, at the age of twenty-seven, having, during a period of six brief years, of which three were spent in confinement, attracted to his person and won for his faith thousands of devoted men and women throughout the length and breadth of Persia, and having laid the foundations of a new religion destined to become a formidable rival to Islam.

His wonderful life needs no comment. If ever a life spoke for itself, it is the Báb's, with its simplicity, integrity and unswerving devotion to the Truth that was born in him. Though we of the West may not appreciate many details of his teaching, and though we may fail to be attracted by a faith in which the niceties of language, the mysteries of numbers and the like play so important a part, yet none of us can help admiring the life of the founder of this religion, for in it there is neither flaw nor blemish. He felt the Truth in him, and in the proclamation of

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that Truth he moved neither hand nor foot to spare himself, but unflinchingly submitted to all manner of injustice and persecution, and, finally, to an ignominious death. That he should have attracted thousands to his cause is perhaps not a matter of such great surprise in a country like Persia, where all are naturally disposed toward religious speculation, and ever ready to examine a "new thing;" but his influence penetrated deeper than their curiosity and their minds, it reached their hearts and inspired them with a spirit of self-sacrifice, renunciation and devotion as remarkable and as admirable as his own.

Our sketch of the Báb's life has, of necessity, been brief, but enough has, perhaps, been told of his career to suggest to all readers a comparison with the life of Christ. Those whose curiosity or sympathy may lead them to study the Báb's life in full detail will certainly not fail to notice in many places the striking similarity which these two lives offer.

In returning to our narrative, we find the last, and by no means the least, striking of the coincidences referred to. For the Báb, too, had his Joseph of Arimathæa. The bodies of the two victims were thrown outside the city walls, to be devoured by dogs and jackals, and a guard was set over them to insure against their being buried. But, by night, a certain wealthy Bábi, named Sulayman Khan, came with a few armed companions, and offered the guards the choice of gold or the sword. The guards accepted the gold and allowed Sulayman Khan to carry off the body of the Báb, which, after he had wrapped it in fine silk, he secretly conveyed to Teheran.

If the Persian government imagined that, by putting to death the Báb, they would put a stop to the religious movement of which he was the head, they were greatly mistaken. The fortitude displayed by the Báb at his execution served only as a stimulant to the devotion and courage of his followers; and thus the government, in ordering the death of this innocent man, defeated their own ends and gave fresh impetus to the movement they hoped to quell, and doubtless added thousands of converts to the "new religion." The year 1850 witnessed the spilling of much Bábi blood. The tragic story of Shaykh Tabarsi was re-enacted in two different quarters of Persia, and in Teheran seven Bábis were "martyred" in cold blood at the instigation of the Prime Minister. Persecutions went on steadily throughout the country, and the

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Bābis were obliged to maintain the utmost secrecy, being continually in danger of their lives.

In August, 1852, an event occurred which cannot be regarded as other than a blot in the Bābi annals. Three young and overzealous Bābis, mastered by an uncontrollable desire for vengeance on the monarch who had permitted the execution of their beloved Master, made an unsuccessful attempt on the life of Shah Nâsir ud-Din. This act not only resulted in the deaths of the would-be assassins, but led to the adoption, on the part of the government, of the most rigorous system of inquisition, persecution and torture of their co-religionists. Vigorous search was instituted by the police in all parts of Persia to discover Bābis, and in Teheran some forty of them were surprised in the house of Sulayman Khan, of whom we have already spoken. Most of them, after bravely enduring ghastly tortures, were put to a cruel death; so appalling were the modes of torture to which these brave men and women patiently submitted that we refrain from describing them. Among the five or six who were spared was Baha Ullah, of whom we shall have occasion to speak presently. Among the martyrs were Sulayman Khan, Sayyid Husayn of Yezd, who, since he had, at any rate in appearance, renounced his master two years previously, had been eager for martyrdom, and Kurrat ul-Ayn, who is one of the most remarkable figures in Bābi history. We regret that, owing to the exigencies of space, we are unable here to describe the career of this truly great woman, whose life and death would call forth our unbounded admiration to whatever age or country she had belonged. Our wonder and our admiration must increase a hundredfold when we remember that she lived in a country where for centuries women had been kept in the background of the harem, and where they lose honor by appearing in public. She was a woman of distinguished parentage, remarkable alike for her beauty and her learning. Perhaps it was the Bāb's aim to ameliorate the position of women in Persia that first aroused her interest in his faith; however this may be, she soon became, and continued till her tragic and noble death, one of the most devoted and active of the Bāb's disciples, and was reckoned, as we have seen, among the eighteen "Letters."

Though it cannot be maintained that these would-be assassins of the Shah were the first to give a political color to the movement, it is certain that their action not merely embittered the ill-

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feeling of the government and the clergy toward the Bābis, but also furnished a plausible excuse for the adoption of even stronger measures than had hitherto been employed to destroy the sect, root and branch. Thus, in spite of the utmost secrecy which the Bābis preserved among themselves, they could never feel secure from one day to another within the Shah's realms. It was on this account that their leaders now deemed it wise to fly the country, and betake themselves to a voluntary exile in Turkish territory; and Baghdad now became the heart and centre of the Bābi movement.

At this time, the head of the community, and chief "Letter of the Unity," was a certain Mirza Yahya, better known by the appellation of Subh-i-Ezel, or the "Dawn of Eternity."

Owing to the continued persecutions of Bābis in Persia, the little colony of exiles in Baghdad was constantly receiving additions to its numbers. In order to protect themselves effectually against the Persian government, they enrolled themselves as Turkish subjects; while their exemplary behavior was rewarded by kind treatment at the hands of the Ottoman authorities.

In 1864, at the instigation of the Persian government, which objected to their proximity to the frontier, they were removed first to Constantinople and shortly afterward to Adrianople. It was in this town that an important schism occurred in the Bābi community, which has never since healed.

During the first fourteen years of exile, that is from 1850 to 1864, Subh-i-Ezel was the nominal head of the Bābis, and vicegerent of the Bāb. That he received this office from the Bāb himself seems, from documentary and other evidence, to be beyond dispute. He laid no claim to prophetic rank.

Early in 1853, an elder half-brother of his, named Beha, fled from Persia and joined the community in Baghdad, having, as we have said, come very near to martyrdom in the Teheran massacre which followed the attempt on the Shah's life. Subh-i-Ezel, while at Baghdad, led a life of comparative seclusion, and trusted to Beha the business of interviewing disciples and corresponding with the Bābis in Persia. At this time, Beha certainly admitted the supremacy of Subh-i-Ezel, and claimed no superiority over his co-religionists; but certain passages in a work called the *"Ikan,"* which he wrote while at Baghdad, leave room for the supposition that he already contemplated the idea of putting forward that

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claim which not long after forever divided the Bābis into two rival factions, the Ezelis and the Behais. What were his actual thoughts and ambitions with regard to himself it is impossible to say; we only know that, in 1866-7, while he was living with his exiled comrades in Adrianople, Beha announced that he was "He whom God shall manifest," so often alluded to by the Bāb in his writings.

Now, had Subh-i-Ezel been disposed to accept this claim of Beha, it is not improbable that his example would have been followed by the whole community. Subh-i-Ezel, however, absolutely denied Beha's claim, arguing that "He whom God shall manifest" could not be expected until the religion founded by the Bāb, with its attendant laws and institutions, had obtained currency at least among some of the nations of the earth. It was inconceivable that one Revelation should be so quickly eclipsed by another. He found many Bābis who concurred in his views, and were willing to remain faithful to him as the legitimate head of the Bābi Church. The majority of the Bābis, however, accepted the Manifestation of Beha, and, in the course of time, their numbers have steadily increased, while the following of Subh-i-Ezel is constantly diminishing. In fact, to-day it is a comparatively rare occurrence to meet with an Ezeli, and one which never came within the experience of the present writer while travelling in Persia or Central Asia.

The dissensions between the rival factions grew so fierce that, in 1868, the Turkish government, fearing lest this rupture might lead to public disorders, determined to separate the rival claimants to supremacy. They, therefore, sent Subh-i-Ezel to Famagusta in Cyprus, and Beha to Acre, which two localities have ever since remained the headquarters of the Ezelis and Behais respectively.*

It will not be necessary in this place to enter into the question of the merits of Beha's claims or Subh-i-Ezel's position. The matter has been fully set forth by Mr. E. G. Browne in his various works on the Bābi movement, especially in the "New History." Only a very small proportion of the Bābis to-day belong to the Ezeli faction; so it is Acre which now becomes and remains the chief centre of interest in the subsequent history of this religion.

* A few Behais were sent to Cyprus and a few Ezelis to Acre. The latter were murdered soon after their arrival by some Behais, but probably without the knowledge of Beha.

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It would, in reality, be more accurate to speak of the vast Bābi community which looks to Acre for guidance as Behais rather than as Bābis; for, in many respects, their beliefs bear a relation to the teaching of the Bāb very similar to that of Christianity to the Old Testament; for the Revelation of Beha practically abrogated that of the Bāb. But it may be maintained that Beha's teaching was even more revolutionary than that of Christ; for, whereas Christ came to fulfil the Law, and whereas the Old Testament came to be embodied in the Christian Scriptures, Beha has given his followers a new Bible which has rendered superfluous the *"Bayan."*

The written works of Beha are numerous, and an authorized edition of them has been lithographed in Bombay in three volumes. Of these, the *"Kitab-i-Akdas"* is, in many respects, the most interesting, and it has the best claim to be regarded as the Behai Bible. Beha also wrote a very large number of smaller treatises and letters of exhortation and encouragement, which are known among the faithful as *"alwah"* (singular, *"lawh"*), or tablets. All these *alwah* emanating from Beha were and are carefully treasured up and diligently copied. They were usually addressed to some prominent member of a local community, and, to be the recipient of one of them, however brief, was considered a very high honor.

From the date of Beha's arrival in Acre, his writings begin to assume a very different tone and character from those which pervade the *Ikan* above referred to. Seeing that the *"Kitab-i-Akdas"** is not only the most important of Beha's writings, but that it contains a résumé of all his teaching, it is fitting in this place to present the reader with a brief account of some of its contents.

The book begins with instructions as to religious observances. Prayers are to be said three times a day. The worshipper is to turn his face toward "the Most Holy Region," by which Acre is apparently intended. All congregational prayer is abolished, except in the case of the burial service. The Bābi year, which, as we have said, contains nineteen months of nineteen days each,

* This book was at one time difficult to obtain, as it only existed in manuscript. It has, however, been since lithographed in Bombay, and is therefore fairly accessible. It is composed in Arabic. For the following summary of contents, I am indebted to an article by Mr. E. G. Browne, without whose admirable writings we should know very little of Babism in its late developments.

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begins on the Persian New Year's day. The year contains 366 days in all, five intercalary days being added. Fasting from sunrise to sunset is ordained during the last month of the year.

Mendicity is prohibited in the following terms: "The most hateful of mankind before God is he who sits and begs; take hold of the robe of means, relying on God, the Cause of causes." The use of knives and forks in eating, instead of the hands, is enjoined. Cleanliness is insisted on.

Marriage is enjoined on all. Wives who for a period of nine months have had no news of their husbands are permitted to marry again, but if they are patient it is better, "since God loves those who are patient." If quarrels arise between a man and his wife, he is not to divorce her at once, but must wait for a whole year, so that, perhaps, he may become reconciled to her. The kings of the earth are exhorted to adopt and spread the new faith. Wine and opium are forbidden. The sacred books are to be read regularly, but never so long as to cause weariness. Enemies are to be forgiven, nor must evil be met with evil.

In conclusion, we must quote a very remarkable passage* with regard to future manifestations, which is noteworthy in regard to the position assumed by his son, Abbas Efendi, to-day: *"Whosoever lays claim to a matter (i. e., a Mission), ere one thousand full years have passed, verily he is a lying impostor."*

Beha died in 1892, at the age of seventy-seven, in Acre, which town he had never been permitted to leave. He was here visited by the faithful, who regarded Acre as an object of pilgrimage, and also by inquirers. He was regarded by the faithful as God Almighty Himself, and the respect and reverence they paid him were unbounded. He had four sons, of whom the two eldest were Abbas Efendi and Aga Mohammad Ali.

On the death of Beha, Abbas Efendi, as the eldest son, became the spiritual head of the Behais; though it appears that his claims to this position were not admitted by all, for he found, at the first, a rival in the person of a certain Aga Mirza Jān of Kashan, who had been the amanuensis of Beha. This rivalry did not, however, have any appreciable effect on the position of Abbas Efendi, who receives, at any rate from the vast majority of the Behais of to-day, a veneration equal to that accorded to his father.

* To be found on pp. 13 and 14 of the lithographed edition.

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Aga Mohammad Ali, since his father's death, has lived a life of retirement and seclusion. It is known that he was unable to approve the course adopted by his brother, Abbas Efendi; but he has always strenuously avoided an open quarrel with him, and has refused to give written answers to the large number of Bābis who were anxious to know his views. His main object has been to avoid any further division in the Bābi Church.

In conclusion, a few words must be said in regard to the whereabouts and condition of the Bābis at the present day. It is impossible to obtain reliable statistics as to their actual numbers, but one million is probably near the mark. The majority inhabit the large towns of Persia, such as Teheran, Ispahan, Yezd and Kerman. Persecutions are nowadays of rare occurrence, though the Bābis can never feel really secure within Persian territory, partly on account of the political stigma which attaches to their name, and partly on account of the suspicion with which they are regarded by the Mullas. Three years ago, Teheran alone was said to contain upwards of 10,000 Bābis, and no doubt their numbers have greatly increased in the interval. It is hard to say precisely what degree of caution they consider requisite, or to what extent they are known as Bābis to the authorities and the populace in general. Certain it is that many distinguished persons are known by all to belong to this sect, and that they are on this account put to no apparent inconvenience. The Bābis are law-abiding citizens and ply their business on an equal footing with Mussulmans. No Bābi, however, who is known to be such, is allowed to enter a mosque. They have no places of worship of their own, but hold their meetings, generally after sundown, in the houses of various members of the community. The present writer has attended many of these gatherings, and has always come away deeply impressed by the simplicity, earnestness and courtesy of the Bābis. At these meetings, a practical example of the Bābi principle of equality is to be seen. Here we find, side by side, a learned doctor, an officer, a merchant and a servant, sitting, as the Persians say, "on four knees," intent on discussing the latest news of the Bābis in other parts of the world; listening to the recitation of a poem by some Bābi poet, or hearing the contents of the latest *lawh* from Acre. During the reading of these letters, the strictest silence prevails, and pipes and cigarettes are for the time discarded. In Turkish and Russian territory, the

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position of the Bābis is one of comparative immunity. Askabad in Transcaspia is a very important centre, and it is there, perhaps, that the followers of Beha enjoy the greatest freedom.

Finally, we must mention the recent spread of this religious movement in non-Mohammedan countries, which is practically confined to the United States of America. From the latest information, it would appear that no less than three thousand Americans now subscribe to the new faith. The propaganda first began in 1893, at the World's Congress of Religions in Chicago, when a certain Bābi, named Ibrahim Kheirallah, who had come to the States on business, gave a course of fifteen lectures on Mohammedanism and the various movements which had grown out of it. In the course of these "lessons," he continually referred to the teachings of the Bāb, and in a short time he is said to have secured over one hundred "believers." He next proceeded to New York City, where he published his lectures. Such were the beginnings of Bābism in the United States.

Of the subsequent history of the movement in America, it is at present hard to speak. At all events, it seems that here, too, the division between Abbas Efendi and Aga Mohammad Ali has been at work, and that the first Bābi missionary, Kheirallah, belongs to the party of the latter. The followers of Abbas Efendi, who believe him in all sincerity and devotedness of faith to be the incarnation of God, are known as the *Sabitis,* or the "Firm," while those who deny his claims have received from their opponents the name of *Nakizis,* or "Adversaries." The principal Bābi centres in the States are as follows: Chicago, about 1,000; Kenosha, Wisconsin, from 400 to 500; New York City, about 400; Washington, Baltimore, Philadelphia; Wilmington and Bellevue, Delaware; Newark, Fanwood and Hoboken, New Jersey; Brooklyn and Ithaca, New York; Detroit, Michigan; Boston, Cincinnati, San Francisco and Denver.

Bābism, though still, as it were, in its infancy, is said to count to-day over one million adherents, and the possibilities of its future success are infinite, for, in spite of internal schisms and external disabilities, there is no falling off either in the number of fresh converts or in the religious fervor of believers.

E. Denison Ross.

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PROFESSOR BARRETT WENDELL'S NOTIONS OF AMERICAN LITERATURE.*

BY W. D. HOWELLS.

If the critic were to set down the psychology of his acquaintance with an important book, he would probably do a greater service to his reader than he does by merely recording his opinions of it. The best sort of criticism is that which gives the critic, as well as the author, to the reader's knowledge, so that he may judge not only the critic's opinions, but the motives behind his opinions, and value the opinions or not as he finds the motives worthy or not. I am going, therefore, to lay bare the facts of my personal history with regard to the present review, and to let the reader choose between my author and me, and enable or disable my judgment at the points where he thinks I have gone right from a just cause or wrong from an unjust cause. I do regard the book which Professor Wendell somewhat indescriptively calls "A Literary History of America" as an important book, and have found it impossible to ignore the sort of challenge it gives to one interested in the matter it treats of.

I.

I had seen, I confess at second hand, a praise of the book so sweeping, so overwhelming, from a critical authority which I value, that I at once made up my mind against it; and when, later, I came upon certain expressions from it, again at second hand, I was not distressed to find them priggish and patronizing, but fortified myself in my dislike upon evidence which, if it had been my own book, I should have thought partial. When, still later, I came to the book itself, I was not able to dispatch it so

* "A Literary History of America." By Barrett Wendell, Professor of English at Harvard College. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

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promptly as I had expected, not because I was wrong concerning its intellectual quality, but because I was not sufficiently right. It *is* priggish and patronizing, but it is several other things so very much better that one must not, on one's honor, on one's honesty, fail to recognize them. It is, throughout, the endeavor of a narrow mind to be wide, and the affair in hand receives a species of illumination in the process which is novel and suggestive. It is not the kind of mind I like, but I like it better than I did before I was so well acquainted with it. It has an elasticity which I had not suspected, and the final result is a sort of instruction which the author seems to share with the reader. One is tempted to say that if Professor Wendell had not produced in his present book the best history of American literature, he had educated himself, in writing it, to produce some such history.

His general attitude toward his subject is the attitude of superiority, but not voluntary superiority; every considered volition of his is towards a greater equality with his theme. It is as if, having been born a gentleman, he wished conscientiously to simplify himself, and to learn the being and doing of his inferiors by a humane examination of their conditions, and a considerate forbearance toward their social defects. He has his class feeling against him, but he knows it, and he tries constantly to put it aside. All this is temperamental; but, besides, Professor Wendell has certain disadvantages of environment to struggle with, and in this he exemplifies the hardship of such Bostonians as have outlived the literary primacy of Boston. A little while ago and the air was full of an intellectual life there, which has now gone out of it, or has taken other than literary forms; and, in the recent ceasing of the activities that filled it, the survivor is naturally tempted to question their greatness. The New England poets and essayists and historians who gave Boston its primacy, are in that moment of their abeyance when the dead are no longer felt as contemporaries, and are not yet established in the influence of classics. It is the moment of misgiving, or of worse, concerning them; and it is altogether natural that this doubt should be most felt where their past greatness was most felt. Elsewhere, they are still measurably Emerson and Longfellow, Whittier and Holmes and Lowell; but on their native ground, where they lately walked with other men, and the other men are still walking and they not, the other men can hardly fail to ask

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themselves whether they were not unduly oppressed by a sense of the vanished grandeur. These other men, looking abroad, and seeing little such question elsewhere, cannot help feeling it a proof of discernment in themselves, and governing themselves accordingly. They occupy the places of those illustrious men, and though they no longer find them so very illustrious as people once fancied, still they cannot resist the belief that they inherit them and have somehow the right to administer upon their estates.

II.

The office has its difficulties, which will realize themselves to the imagination of any reader who has had the experience of looking over the papers of a person recently deceased, and has felt the insidious slight for the deceased which inevitably mingles with the conventional awe that all mankind pretend for the dead. The problem is how best to conceal the slight, not only from others but from one's self. If one keeps silence, one may partially succeed; but if one speaks, one inevitably takes on that air of superiority which affects the witness so disagreeably, no matter how involuntary it is. Another hard condition of such a work as Professor Wendell's is, that the author, in order to widen his survey of the subject, must get a bird's eye view of it, and if the resulting map or picture is not satisfactory to an observer on the terrestrial level, he accuses the bird of strabismus or astigmatism. But such an observer ought to guard himself from hasty censure, and ought to take into account the variety of obstacles overcome, as well as the defective character of the result. He ought to consider the exhaustive athletics by which Professor Wendell, for instance, places himself in a position to get a bird's eye view of Emerson, for instance. Then, I think, the observer on the terrestrial level will allow that he has done surprisingly well, and that the great wonder is that he should not have done worse.

Much that he suggests of Emerson is just, though I doubt if he does justice to the absolute and final and august simplicity from which the greatness of Emerson rises. He sees that, on the social side, Emerson was a villager; but he does not see that this sort of social outlook is compatible with universal and secular citizenship. He complains that, to the end, Emerson "never lost his . . . exuberantly boyish trick of dragging in allusions to all sorts of personages and matters which he knew only by

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name;" but he alleges no proof that Emerson was so audaciously ignorant. He bids us "take that sentence . . . 'Pythagoras was misunderstood and Socrates, and Jesus, and Luther, and Copernicus, and Galileo and Newton.' These great names he mentions with all the easy assurance of intimacy; he could hardly speak more familiarly of seven Concord farmers, idling in a row on some sunny bench." But here, in the absence of proof from the critic, there is no internal evidence of the intimacy and familiarity ascribed to "the juvenile pedantry of renascent New England at a moment when Yankees . . . did not yet distinguish between such knowledge and the unpretentious mastery of scholarship." He gives, upon the whole, a notion of Emerson which would be creditable to a scholarly gentleman straining a point for the sake of liberality, in the direction of things offensive to his class instincts. It is such a view as would be acceptable to one dining well with an unusually cultivated company of people, not too critical of saws or instances that seemed to glitter or illustrate, and only very amiably contrary-minded when the praise went too far.

The paper on Holmes is more adequate, because the subject is one that may be more adequately handled in the spirit of Professor Wendell's criticism; but slighter and lighter as Holmes's meaning was in literature, the criticism has not the value in the retrospect that it had in the prospect. There is always the promise of vital consideration, which somewhere, somehow, fails to fulfill itself. One perceives that little which is true in it is new; and that little which is new is true. At first, one is struck by the notion that Holmes is a sort of Bostonian Voltaire, and all the more profoundly impressed because of the critic's care in distinguishing between the authors in their conditions and temperaments. "Yes, yes," you say, to your neighbor at table, "that is true; I wonder I never thought of that." The next morning, the facts of their radical difference in feeling, thinking and saying, present themselves against the sole fact that they were both brilliant urban wits, and the notion is not at all convincing.

In the papers on Whittier and Longfellow, there is an exterior sense of their place in literature; but if the passages quoted from them as distinctive are to be taken as proof of the critic's penetration, there is little interior sense of their quality. Rather unexpectedly, the essay on Lowell satisfies one better. He was of

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greater intellectual range and weight than any of his contemporaries; he was more acquainted with books and with affairs; he had infinitely more humor, but on his social side he finally lent himself more to the measurements of worldly-minded criticism. Yet, through his humor he was apt at any time to pass impalpably into his poetry, where its divining rods were of no avail.

Professor Wendell's radical disqualification for his work seems the absence of sympathy with his subject. He is just, he is honest, he is interested, he is usually civil and too sincere to affect an emotion which he does not feel; he is versed in general literature, and he knows a great deal of his chosen ground. But he does not, apparently, know all of his ground; and his facts, when he ascertains them, are the cold facts, and not the living truth. Only those of like temperament can fail to be aware of this in him, and only those of like intellectual experience can fail to perceive the error of his ideals. The chief of these ideals is distinction, which he apparently thinks a man may seek with the same effect as if it had sought him. But distinction is something that comes by nature, like personal beauty, or lofty stature, or physical courage, or a gift for poetry or art. Short of it, one may be good, or clever, or wise; but one must be born distinguished. Most members of most aristocracies, most kings and emperors, are altogether undistinguished, and no breeding can make them so. For illustration in literature, one may say, without fear of contradiction, that the writer of the most distinction now writing English is Mr. Henry James. Every page, almost every sentence, of his testifies of his intellectual distinction. The very vulgarity which none of us escapes and which he occasionally fails to escape, has a sort of distinction. Contrast a passage of his criticism with a passage of Professor Wendell's, and you have the proof of what I am saying. Professor Wendell is so wanting in that distinction which is his ideal that his phrase is always in danger of wearing down to the warp of his undistinguished thought. This happens when, after some lumbering facetiation about "those countless volumes of contemporary biography wherein successful men of business are frequently invited to insert their lives and portraits," he goes on to assure us that "Emerson's Representative Men were of a different *stripe* from these" men. His nerves do not instruct him that *stripe*, in this sense, has remained hopelessly rustic, plebeian, common, and so

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his ideal of distinction does not avail. It is somehow the same with his efforts for lightness; they affect one painfully as undignified, and of the sort that can be grateful only to the young gentlemen on the benches glad to relieve their overtaxed attention in a giggle.

III.

When he is serious, Professor Wendell is always interesting and he is often very respectable. The best part of his book is formed by the essays on Bryant, Poe, Longfellow, Lowell, Whittier, Holmes, Whitman, and the essay on the change from Calvinism to Socinianism in New England, all papers of such good magazine quality that an editor would think twice before declining them, as a little wanting in form and a sort of final freshness. Their group is preceded by studies, varying in fulness, of our Colonial authors. Of these, one alone survives in literature; for, though Edwards is still a theologian whom the theologians cannot ignore, Franklin is the only literary man of that period whom lovers of literature can wish to know. The rest have the interest of quaintness, and of a significance among the origins of New England literature, which seems overrated in giving them a good fourth of "A Literary History of America." They were to be examined as the tough Calvinistic stock which flowered in the Unitarian poetry of the nineteenth century; but his notion of them, by no means original with Professor Wendell, is elaborated to the neglect of the truly American period which has followed the New England period of our literature. If he had called his book "A Study of New England Authorship in its Rise and Decline, with Some Glances at American Literature," one could not have taxed him with neglect, though one might still have found him wanting in proportion.

As a study of New England authorship, this book *has* value, as one may freely own, without disowning its valuelessness in specific instances. Its generalizations are at times excellent; though, from the passages of their literature which he gives, he would seem to have read about his authors rather than read them, the quotations are so far from representative. One of his most notable generalizations occurs when, after long fumbling over his material, he is able to say in summing up, "Then our ancestral America, which had so unwittingly lingered behind the mother country, awoke. In the flush of its

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awakening it strove to express the meaning of life; and the meaning of its life was the story of what two hundred years of inexperience had wrought for a race of Elizabethan Puritans"; and this is so well imagined, it is so challenging and suggestive, if not convincing, that, for the moment, you feel him fit to have written that history of our literature which he has not written. It is compensation and consolation for so much priggish banality that you almost forget the priggish banality, and you try to forgive him even for saying of Victoria's accession, "When her Majesty came to the throne," as if he were a subject of her Majesty, so devoted in his loyalty as to be insensible of the greatness of a theme essentially indignant of all ceremonial self-abasement. Still, this sort of lapse makes you doubt his fitness to treat his theme with the due breadth of feeling, as more than one page of his book makes you question his literary qualification. The man, you say, who could write such a sentence as, "The Southerners of the fifties were far more like their revolutionary ancestors than were the Northerners,"—a sentence so slovenly, so uncouth, so really inexpressive—is surely not qualified to judge even the mechanism of literature; but presently he gives you pause by declaring that "no one who lacks artistic conscience can write an effective short story, and . . . the artistic conscience may be called characteristic" of American authorship. He surprises you again when he declares that "in its beginning the American literature of the nineteenth century was marked rather by delicacy than by strength, by palpable consciousness of personal distinction rather than any such outburst of previously unphrased emotion as on general principles democracy might have been expected to excite." He surprises you still again, and still more, by his divination of the purity of soul in American literary art, as where he says: "In the literature of every other country you will find lubricity, in that of America hardly any. Foreigners are apt to think this trait hypocritical; whoever knows the finer minds of New England will be disposed to believe it a matter not of conscientious determination, but rather of instinctive preference." He perceives that while purity has been the instinct of our literature, excellence has been its ideal, and he enforces the fact with an aptness of expression which yet once more is surprising. To be sure, none of these notions is quite novel; and you may question Professor Wendell's originality, if you like. But if you like

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to do so, you will not be fair. He feels them originally and he imparts them cogently.

IV.

With as much reason you could say that his point of view in the study of Hawthorne was that chosen by Mr. Henry James, and perhaps sufficiently established twenty years ago; yet Professor Wendell does some thinking of his own on the subject, and he says some things which one cannot fail to heed without loss, as: "Comparing his work with the contemporary work of England, one is aware of its classically careful form, of its profoundly romantic sentiment, and of its admirable artistic conscience. One grows aware, at the same time, of its unmistakable rusticity, . . . monotony, provincialism, a certain thinness. . . . He was ideal, of course, in temper; he was introspective, with all the self searching instinct of his ancestry. . . . In a dozen aspects, then, he seems typically Puritan. His artistic conscience, however, as alert as that of any pagan, impelled him constantly to realize in his work those forms of beauty which should most beautifully embody the ideals of his incessantly creative imagination. . . . Beyond any one else, he expresses the deepest temper of that New England race which brought him forth, and which now, at least in the phases we have known, seems vanishing from the earth."

I do not think that, in my sense of the prevailing academic temper of Professor Wendell's work, I am attributing undue freshness to these remarks, though I confess that, in transferring them to my page, the freshness has seemed somehow to evaporate, and I hasten to restore my faith in their novelty by giving a passage from the paper on Irving: "One thing is pretty clear: the man had no message. From beginning to end he was animated by no profound sense of the mystery of existence. Neither the solemn eternities which stir philosophers and theologians, nor the actual lessons as distinguished from the superficial circumstances of human experience, ever much engaged his thought. Delicate, refined, romantic sentiment he set forth in delicate, refined, classic style. One may often question whether he had much to say; one can never question that he wrote beautifully."

I should object, of course, to the looseness and inaccuracy and tendency to tall talk in such phrasing as "the solemn eternities,"

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and to a certain vagueness of statement, but I could not deny that a kind of truth about Irving, which is not the whole truth, was here strikingly expressed, while I should feel that the very perfection of his work was a sufficient "message."

I should be of the same divided mind, but more deeply divided, concerning Professor Wendell's saying of Poe: "From beginning to end his temper had the inextricable combination of meretriciousness and insincerity which marks the temperament of typical actors. Theirs is a strange trade wherein he does best who best shams." The first part of this saying appears to me true enough, and quite new; the last entirely false and wrong. The greatest actor is not he who best shams, but he who is the truest to reality. On the other hand, I should be inclined largely to agree with his saying, as far as it goes, about Longfellow: "Whether he ever understood his mission, it is hard to say; but what that mission was is clear; and so is the truth that he was a faithful missionary. Never relaxing his effort to express in beautiful language meanings which he truly believed beautiful, he revealed to the untutored new world the romantic beauty of the old." As far as it goes; for this saying does not get further in appreciation than the work of Longfellow's first period. As for his not knowing just what his mission was, I should hope not. Few men outside of the insane asylums are perfectly aware of what they are here for, and these are not usefully at large. In such a saying as this, however, Professor Wendell does not mean any sort of unjust limitation, and if you come to his book of a *parti pris,* with the belief that he is altogether academic, and praises or blames by rule, you will find yourself mistaken. You may say that he is narrow-minded, but that he is not open-minded you cannot say. You must own again and again that he is very open-minded, and that he is not afraid to be generous when he conceives that generosity is justice. After long years of condemnation, when there was no question of Willis's abuse of hospitality in England by turning his hosts and his fellow-guests into newspaper copy, his fame has a stout good word from an historian who does not think much of his poetry. "Superficial as you like, his letters are vivid, animated and carefully reticent of anything which might justly have displeased the persons concerned." But by far the most signal instance of Professor Wendell's open-mindedness is his recognition of Mark Twain's positive value

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as a talent almost unique, his relative importance in the literature of his country, and his representativity as a Westerner.

No man, and I least of all men, will wish to question such a characterization of a humorist whom I think the greatest that has lived; yet I strongly feel the inadequacy of Professor Wendell's general statement of the literary case as regards the region which gave Mark Twain to the world. He might defend it upon the ground that he has explicitly refused to deal with our literary history in men and women still living; but he is obliged to modify this refusal again and again. He names names and he imputes qualities in the case of writers still living quite inevitably, and it is by a volition disastrous to the completeness of his argument that he leaves unmentioned the writer in whom the brief glories of the literary movement on the Pacific slope culminated. I am not disposed to exaggerate the merits of Mr. Bret Harte, but it cannot be denied that he made one of the great impressions of his time, and that his once towering reputation was solidly based upon a real power. He still disputes European popularity with Mr. Clemens, and he long enjoyed the sort of perverse primacy on the Continent which confounds us in the case of Poe. Not to speak of such a principal writer in discussing the literature of his section is to cripple the criticism attempted, and not to speak of such another writer as Mr. James Whitcomb Riley, in dealing with Western effort in poetry, is to ignore what is most vital and indigenous in it. It is as if in treating of Scottish poetry, some Professor Wendell, contemporary with Robert Burns, should refrain from mentioning him because he was still living; and the like censure may be urged against his treatment of the chief Southern authors. The literary movement in the South since the war has been of the most interesting and promising character, and in the work of several men has been of most distinguished performance. Mr. Joel Chandler Harris's contributions to our imaginative literature are of absolute novelty, and Mr. G. W. Cable has written one of the few American fictions which may be called great. These men are not fully representative of the literary advance in the South, but not to name them, not to consider their work, is to leave the vital word unsaid. But the vital word concerning the rise of American fiction since the civil war is also left unsaid, and the South only suffers with the North.

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V.

As to that tendency in the North and East which, widening beyond the trend of the old New England endeavor for ideal excellence, resulted in the distinction of Mr. Henry James's work, how is any just notion of it to be given without some direct consideration of that work? Professor Wendell does not give any just notion of it, simply because he does not consider Mr. James's work either in itself or in relation to the general tendency. He has sworn to his hurt and changed not, though he swore to his hurt and changed in the case of Mark Twain with respect to the Western humor, and in the case of Miss Jewett and Miss Wilkins with respect to the New England short story. It is a pity that a critic so inconsistent should be so scrupulous, but it cannot now be helped, and Professor Wendell's history of our literature must remain so far imperfect.

If this were all, if it were imperfect only in this, it would not be so bad, but it is imperfect in so many other points as not to be a history of American literature, although it may be a literary history of America, if any one can say what that is. It is not only insufficient and apparently unintelligent at the points noted, but it conspicuously ignores some incidents which even a literary history of America ought to take account of. There is, for instance, nothing in it to betray consciousness of such a resurgent spirit as produced the first *Putnam's Magazine* at New York in the early fifties, though this was a literary event of as great importance as the founding of the *Atlantic Monthly* five years later at Boston. The earlier enterprise evolved and concentrated the literary elements which gave strength to the later undertaking, and it was, perhaps, more responsive and useful to the country at large. The great New England wits were contributors to *Putnam's,* while it revived and fostered the local and general literary aspiration. It completed the intellectual development of so important an American as George William Curtis, and gave American letters the humane and manly cast which it would be a pity they should ever lose. Almost more than any other agency in their annals, it dedicated them to liberty and democracy in the best and widest sense. They ceased with its coming to be servile at their worst, and to be merely elegant at their best.

But Professor Wendell ignores an incident of such prime sig-

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nificance, and whether he ignores it voluntarily or involuntarily it is to be regretted that he ignores it. He scarcely offers us compensation in the story of the founding of the *Atlantic Monthly*, and its mission to our literature. That periodical was imagined by Francis Underwood, the professional literary adviser of a successful publishing house, who had no conception of it as the avenue of Harvardized genius to the American public, or even as an outlet to the culture of New England, but who had an abiding faith in Lowell as the fittest man in the world to direct such a periodical. Lowell, as the first editor, divined that Holmes could do more than any man living to "float the *Atlantic*," and at his strong entreaty, the "Autocrat" papers were written, and the *Atlantic* was floated. Lowell, if any one, characterized the magazine. He gave it literary conscience and human responsibility, and the best that his successive successors could do was to keep it true to his conception of its mission. Fields, whose generous love of letters and wide intelligence Professor Wendell does not overrate, could do no more than this, and he did no more. He left the *Atlantic* what he found it, and what it has since remained with marvellous constancy to the original impulse from Lowell's great nature and liberal mind. It is ludicrously mistaken to suppose that after Fields left the magazine, it ceased to be in sympathy with Harvard. Fields had no special affinity with Harvard, and the young Harvard men—it is sufficient to name Mr. John Fiske alone—began writing for his successor in greater number than before, in proportion to their fitness or their willingness; if there was any change it was because Harvard was becoming less literary, and the country at large more literary. The good things began to come from the West and the South and the Middle States, and the editors took the good things wherever they came from.

VI.

No one can estimate the relative value of the New England episode of our literary growth more highly than I, but I cannot ignore the fact that our literary conscience, the wish for purity and the desire for excellence, which Professor Wendell recognizes as its distinguishing qualities, was not solely of Puritan origin. Before the New England renaissance, there was an American literature dignified by these qualities, and since the New England decadence (if he insists upon an appearance in which I do not find

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so much fact as he) there is a far larger body of American literature illustrated by the original and prominent characteristics. Clever and charming and even "distinguished" writing is now of an abundance in certain kinds which would have amazed the frugal sufficiency of the great New England days. In poetry only have we declined; but so has all the world.

Yet, even as a study of the New England episode of American literature, the work is not sympathetic. It is prevailingly antipathetic, with moments of kindness, and still rarer and more unexpected moments of cordial respect and admiration. Wherever Professor Wendell scents democracy or perceives the disposition to value human nature for itself and independently of the social accidents, he turns cold, and his intellectual tradition gets the better of his nature, which seems sunny and light and friendly. Something, then, like a patrician view of the subject results. Well, it is, perhaps, time that we should have the patrician view, for the patricians are usually not very articulate and it is interesting to know how they feel. The worst of it is, perhaps, that when the other patricians get this patrician view they will not care for it any more than they care for the subject. As a class, they have never, in any country, at any time, cared generally for literature, though they have been patrons of the objective arts, which could minister to their state in the decoration of their dwellings. Otherwise, they have been preoccupied with their dogs and horses, their yachts and villas; their recreations have been boyish or barbarous; their chance pleasure in a book has been almost a brevet of its badness. The American patriciate, so far as we have any, is like every other, and will not care, even unintelligently, for a patrician view of American literature. A large class of crude people, who do not know the ground, but have the belief that the things they do not know are not worth knowing, will, perhaps, in the harshness of their crudity, find Professor Wendell's history acceptable. It will not fundamentally disturb their ignorance, and it will please their vanity with the suggestion that not they alone are contemptible. The impression they will get from it is that American literature is not worthy the attention of people meaning to be really critical.

But I doubt if the American public needed any such recall as Professor Wendell has sounded from a mad pursuit of American authorship. I doubt if they have over valued it in the pro-

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ductions of our greatest poets, essayists, historians or novelists. I doubt if anything has been gained for a just estimation of Emerson by a patronizing allusion to his "guileless confusion of values," or for his interpretation by the elaborate explanation that in his saying, "hitch your wagon to a star," he had not in mind "a real rattling vehicle of the Yankee country, squalid in its dingy blue," or any such star "as ever twinkled through the clear New England nights," but that he used the "incomplete symbol" to bind together for an instant "the smallest things and the greatest." This had always been apparent to most people; and, throughout, Professor Wendell seems unaware of the fine, quaint humor lurking at the heart of Emerson's philosophy, and amusing itself with the fire it struck from such grotesque contrasts. There seems to have been a certain fantastic wilfulness in the Seer which would account for much that Professor Wendell treats as superficiality, and even ignorance. But Professor Wendell's strong point is not humor or the perception of it. His own intentions of lightness find an expression that does not add to the reader's gaiety, and he has so little humorous conscience that he can bring out that poor old moth-eaten anecdote of Emerson and Margaret Fuller watching Fanny Elssler's dancing and the one pronouncing it poetry, and the other religion. He should have been principled against this inhumanity, but he is not probably to blame for citing, in illustration of the old New Englander's sense of human equality, the story of Father Taylor's saying of his interview with the Pope: "So the Pope blessed me and I blessed the Pope." Father Taylor was a saint who loved fun, and among the sailors to whom he preached there were often sinners who could take a joke. Perhaps, however, Professor Wendell knew that Father Taylor was joking, but in his need of an instance to support his position he pressed the old man's irony into the service.

One cannot often accuse him of uncandor; but no one can call his statement of the attack on Charles Sumner in the United States Senate a candid statement. "The first blow, to be sure, was struck from behind; it was struck, however, in the most public place in America," he says; and he gives the impression that Brooks's attack was made in full session of the Senate, in the midst of a crowd of spectators, when he ought to have known that the blow from behind was dealt a man sitting at his desk

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and busy over his papers, with only a few unfriendly people by. This distortion of the fact is wholly needless, even to the unhandsome effect which the literary historian of America achieves. No man, except some such angelic minded man as Longfellow, ever met Charles Sumner without feeling the impact of his gross egotism almost like a blow in the face; and there can be no question that the speech which provoked Brooks's attack was insufferably outrageous in its insolence. One is amazed in reading it that any one should permit himself such brutal terms with an opponent; but the wish to minimize the far greater atrocity which it provoked cannot be justified, even in the interest of a patrician view of American literature. Mostly, however, Professor Wendell's uncandor goes no farther than that sort of noble aloofness with which self-conscious gentlemen begin their letters to editors in the formula, "Sir, my attention has been called to an article in your paper," and so forth. In the spirit of this fine detachment he acknowledges the persistent vitality of "Uncle Tom's Cabin," by owning that, "to this day, dramatized versions of it are said to be popular in the country," when he must have known, at first hand, that they were popular not only in the country, but in the suburbs of Boston itself, and wherever a summer pleasaunce large enough for the scene lent itself to the representation of a play requiring real bloodhounds in pursuit of fugitives escaping across a river of real water. At the moment I write, it is filling one of the largest New York theatres.

VII.

Is it, then, the tone of Professor Wendell's book, rather than the matter of it, that I am finding fault with? I think it is largely the tone; for I believe that I have already done justice to the recurrent excellence of its matter. When he can keep himself from instances, he deals interestingly and often convincingly with his subject. It is when he illustrates his meaning by a quotation, and interprets the passage given by comment on it, that he is least fortunate. Then you see that he has judged the poet with a narrow mind, and has failed of his real significance through natural disability, or that he has wilfully obscured it. An unpleasing instance of this sort is his remark upon that poem of Longfellow's on the dead slave:

> "Beside the ungathered rice he lay,
> His sickle in his hand;"

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of which he says, "One may fairly doubt whether, in all anti-slavery literature, there is a more humorous example of the way in which philanthropic dreamers often constructed negroes by the simple process of daubing their own faces with burnt cork." Here the misconception of the artistic intention of the poet is so offensive, and put in terms of such jaunty vulgarity, that it is hard not to believe it a wilful misrepresentation. You ask yourself: "Could any one sincerely take that view of it?" and, for the credit of the human mind, you prefer to think not, bad as the insincerity would be.

Downright vulgarity Professor Wendell is not often guilty of; but something one must call commonness is rather common with him. His language is without distinction, as his thought is without precision, not always, but regrettably often. One finds it hard to forgive a writer who can suffer himself such a figure as, "Coal and oil, too, and copper and iron began to sprout like weeds." No writer of artistic sensitiveness could have written that sentence, and no critic of ultimate civility could say of Walt Whitman's "mad kind of rhythm" that it "sounds as if hexameters were trying to bubble through sewage." That is not graphic; it is simply disgusting. Yet the paper on Walt Whitman is almost the best of the whole collection, and is notable for some of the sanest and frankest and kindest criticism of a most difficult subject:

"One begins to see why Whitman has been so much more eagerly welcomed abroad than at home. His conception of equality, utterly ignoring values, is not that of American democracy, but rather that of European. . . . The saving grace of American democracy has been a tacit recognition that excellence is admirable. . . . The glories and beauties of the universe are really perceptible everywhere, and into what seemed utterly sordid Whitman breathed ennobling imaginative fervor. . . . The spirit of his work is that of the old-world anarchy; its form has all the perverse oddity of old world decadence; but the substance of which his poems are made—their imagery, as distinguished from their form or spirit—comes wholly from our native country. In this aspect, then, though probably in no other, he may, after all, throw light on the future of literature in America."

VIII.

But what is literature in America? Almost any one can tell us what it will be, but it wants a prophet to tell us what it is and has been, and I doubt if Professor Wendell is that prophet. In the first place, it does not appear to me that a prophet begin-

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ning to prophesy would give you the feeling that the things he is about to divine are not quite worthy of his powers, and I think that Professor Wendell gives you this feeling. In the next place, it does appear to me that he mistakes the nature of our literature, or seems to do so, in contrasting from time to time what we were doing in America with what they were doing in England at the same moment, and minifying our performance accordingly. Such a method might be the means of useful spiritual exercise for those vain Americans who suppose that our literature is the rival or the sister of English literature. It is the daughter or the granddaughter of that literature, or, in terms less flowery, it is a condition of English literature; and it is not interesting in its equality or likeness to the other conditions, but in its inequality or unlikeness. It has differenced itself from the mother or grandmother literature involuntarily, so far as it has differenced itself valuably, and it is an error either in friend or foe to put it in the attitude of rivalry. It would fail in that rivalry so far as it was like English literature, just as English literature would show itself inferior where it was like American literature. Professor Wendell, therefore, has not dealt wisely or kindly with it in the contrasts he makes; and, largely speaking, I should say he was not a kind or wise critic of it.

This is, of course, solely to his own disadvantage; the literature will remain for every future student, while his criticism may, perhaps, pass; and I should be sorry to pronounce him inimical where the proof would be difficult. The best I could do toward convincing the reader would be to recur again to his tone. "And what," the reader might ask, "is his tone? Come," he might continue, "you have had your flings at his tone; you have tried to disable his supposed point of view; you have accused him of this, that and the other; but where is your proof?" I might retort that I preferred to leave the proof to Professor Wendell himself; but this seems rather sneaking, and I will not make that retort. I will allege the things I have quoted from him, and I may fairly, also, allege the impression of slight for his subject which he leaves with the reader. His subject is not, as I have represented, American literature, but that episode of our literary history which he calls the New England Renaissance. It cannot be questioned by any one who observes his attitude that he has the effect of looking down upon it. I will not suppose

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him capable of the charlatanry of wishing to surprise or shock his readers, or of the mistaken notion that they could be awakened to a just sense of New England literature by an occasionally rude or supercilious behavior to it. Clearly, he is sincere in not valuing it as it has been hitherto critically valued, and as it is still popularly valued. I cannot blame him for that; I myself have had my misgivings as to its perfection; and I have freely confessed them, but what I wish to make Professor Wendell observe is, that the New England literature uttered with singular adequacy the spirit of its time and place. I could also desire him to note that this spirit was generous and even sublime in its faith in humanity. He might answer me that it was weakened and intellectually dwarfed by this faith in humanity. In that case, I should say that I did not believe it, and I should like to ask what we should have faith in, if not in humanity. That would bring us to the *impasse* which people of different opinions must always come to.

W. D. Howells.

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